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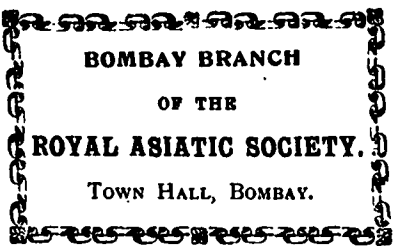

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Mouth of the Pei-Ho.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

EXPEDITION TO CHINA,

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR

TO

THE PRESENT PERIOD.

88378

WITH

SKETCHES OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THAT SINGULAR AND HITHERTO ALMOST UNKNOWN COUNTRY.

BY

COMMANDER J. ELLIOT BINGHAM, R.N.,
Late First Lieutenant of H. M. S. Modeste.

CONTRA AUDENTIOR ITO.—*Virgil.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO THE

REV. RICHARD BINGHAM, B.C.L.,

CANON OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL,

VICAR OF HALE MAGNA, LINCOLNSHIRE,

AND

INCUMBENT OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

GOSPORT,

THE FOLLOWING

ACCOUNT OF THE WAR IN CHINA

IS DEDICATED,

AS A

MEMORIAL OF AFFECTION AND TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM,

BY HIS DUTIFUL SON,

THE AUTHOR.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page	18,	line	5, *for* ships, *read* ship.
	25	„	14, *for* separating them, *read* separating it.
	84	„	6, *for* Teen-Tsin, *read* Tien-sing.
	86	„	16, *for* Hoppo, *read* Hoppo's.
	161	„	23, *for* Cruiser, *read* Cruizer.
	169	„	18, *for* of, *read* of the.
	241	„	9, *for* water-place, *read* watering-place.
	244	„	19, *for* coast, *read* court.
	270	„	1, *for* coi ing, *read* coiling.
	280	„	19, *for* Acest, *read* Alceste.
	281	„	5, *for* we had, *read* we have had.
	281	„	7, *for* knew, *read* know.
	299	„	25, *for* the, *read* their.
	321	„	9, *for* chiefly, *read* daily.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

PAGE

PREFACE v

CHAPTER I.

PASSAGE TO CHINA.

Orders to proceed to China—Arrival of Blonde and Pylades—Krewmen dislike going—Island of Mauritius—Placed in Quarantine—Seychell Islands—Coco de mer—Penang—Straits of Malacca—Water-spout—Malays—Upas Tree—Malacca—Straits of Sincapore 1

CHAPTER II.

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

Sail from Sincapore—Make the Ladrones—Chow-Chow Water—Anchor at Macao—Men-of-war in River—Sail for Chusan—First introduction of Opium—Animated scene at Cum-sing-moon—Heu-Naetse's Memorial—Heu-Kew's Petition against the admission—Local Authorities awkwardly situated—Anecdotes relative to Opium Trade—Tang deeply engaged therein—Chin's Proclamation—Lampoon—Restriction on Opium Trade—Attempt to execute Ho Lankin—Squabble with Mob—Captain Elliot calls a Meeting—State of Trade, 1838—Chinese will have Opium—Exports versus Imports 29

CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION OF THE OPIUM QUESTION.

PAGE

Provincial Government communicate direct with Superintendent—Large Passage-boats—Keshen's Memorial—Chinese strangled before Factories—Arrival of Lin—His Edict—Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce—Mr. Dent refuses to enter the City—Degraded state of Howqua—Meeting at the Consoo-hall—Weiyuen—Mr. Inglis accompanies the Weiyuen—Interview at the Temple of the Queen of Heaven—Captain Elliot's Circular—He proceeds to Canton—Flag re-hoisted—Public Meeting—Servants ordered away—Guards placed round the Factories—Pleasure-boats seized—Opium demanded—Mr. King—Present of Provisions—Notice of Hong Merchants 71

CHAPTER IV.

TERMS ON OPIUM BEING DELIVERED UP.

Penalties for breach of faith—Bills dishonoured—The Bond—Meeting of Chamber of Commerce—Consuls at Consoo-hall—Servants restored—Delivery of Opium—Lin's rage—Making Observations—Trade opened—Sixteen Merchants detained—Back-doors closed—Surrender of Opium completed—Captain Elliot quits Canton—Destruction of the Opium—Description of Opium-pipe—Emperor approves Lin's measures—Transhipping Trade—Captain Elliot's Memorial to Lin—Americans sign the Bond—New Laws against Opium—Death of Lin Weihe—Captain Elliot and Merchants quit Macao—Piracy of Black Joke—Arrival of Men-of-war—Lin visits Macao—Attack on Cowloon—Bilbaino burnt—Attempt to re-open Trade—Action at Chuenpee—Reaction in Opium Trade—Confidence of Smugglers . . 107

CHAPTER V.

PAGE

Imperial Edict—Release of Mr. Gribble—Lin purchases the Cambridge—Hyacinth enters the Inner Harbour—Lin ceases to be Commissioner—Petticoat Interest—Attempt to fire the Ships—Death of the Empress—Mourning—Tsang-wang-yen's Memorial—Lin's double swords—Arrival of Her Majesty's Ship Druid—Mandarin Chairs—Attack on the Hellas—Death of Lord J. Churchill—Second attempt to burn the Ships—Arrival of Expedition—Blockade declared—Scale of Rewards—Arrival of Cape Squadron—Method of claiming Rewards—Ock-sue Islands—Formosa—Black Island—Buffalo's Nose—Fishing-boats—Want of Interpreter—Pirates escape—Boats'-sails—Chusan Harbour—Compradore seized—Blonde at Amoy—Ning-po under Blockade—Elephant's Trunk—Process of making Salt—Difference of Rank 164

CHAPTER VI.

TRIP TO THE MOUTH OF THE PEI-HO.

Clear the Islands—Pylades and Transports join—Capture of Pirates—Heavy Squall—Enter Imperial Sea—Gulf of Petche-li—Board Junk—Proceed to the Pei-ho—Pilots useless—Capture Chinaman—Mandarins spoil their Boats—Appearance of the Shore—Sounding River—Showie Pih, alias Captain White—Visit to Alceste Bay—Procure Bullocks—Good Water—Volage visits Mantchow Tartary—Wellesley at Toke—Plan for bringing Emperor to terms—Present to Squadron—Meeting with Keshen—Sickness disappears—Procure Millet—Arrangement for quitting Imperial Sea 211

CHAPTER VII.

RETURN TO CHUSAN.

PAGE

Quit the Pei-Ho—Toke—City of Tong-Tchou-foo—Chinese Ladies—Defences—Manning the Guns—Chinese Banners—Arms—Paoupang—Jealousy of Mandarins—Mia-tau Group—Artificial Harbour—Dandy Mandarin—Dissertation on Tails—Mandarin's Attendant—The Cabin and Curiosity—Rejoin Admiral—Mountain of Flesh—His Appetite—Admiration of Fatness—Mia-tau—Loss of Pinnace—Use of Telescope—Chinese Déjeuné—Sculling-boats—Chin-chin not Chin-chin—Quelpert—Ordered off Ning-po—Wreck of Kite—Cruel Treatment of her Crew—Dimensions of Cages—Death of Prisoners—Their Release—Capture of Captain Anstruther . 255

CHAPTER VIII.

NING-PO AND CHUSAN.

Proceed to Ning-po—Captain Elliot applies for release of Prisoners—Their better Treatment—Chinese Cavalry—Return to "Spithead"—Yang-tse-kiang—Cruise of the Conway—Death of Mr. Harvey—Algerine at Chapoo—Bravery of Mandarin—Loss of Indian Oak—Nimrod's Cruise—Loo-choo—Manners of its Inhabitants—Seaman's Grave—Quelpert—Sickness amongst our Troops—Chusan—Ting-hai—Taoutow and Joss-house Hill—Position of Troops—Robberies—Chinese Coffin—Debasing of Coin—Temples—Arsenals—Arms—The Six Boards—Burning the Archives 298

APPENDIX 335

PREFACE.

PROMOTION having for the moment thrown me out of active service, I have been tempted to draw up the following Sketch of the various events connected with the present war in China.

I commenced my Narrative with the idea of bringing it before the public under the auspices of the periodical press; finding, however, that such a mode of publication would have occupied many months, while the Narrative itself must have lost much of its interest to the reader, by being presented to him at considerable intervals, and in a disjointed shape, I have been induced to let it assume its present form.

I shall be found accurate, I believe, in all

the details of the transactions which I describe. In many of the incidents selected I was myself an actor; where that was not the case, and I am consequently unable to speak from personal knowledge, I have had recourse to the most correct and authentic sources of information.

I must beg the indulgence of my readers for any errors into which I may unintentionally have fallen. Should I, however, from the short space of time allowed me for the composition of the latter chapters, have been guilty of omission as to the names or achievements of any of my late companions in arms, I must crave their forgiveness; but should the public so far approve of my humble labours as to call for a second edition of my little work, I shall rejoice in the opportunity of supplying such deficiencies, and shall be happy to insert any additional facts with which friends may be kind enough to favour me, as well as the names, if any, of individuals inadvertently omitted.

I must freely confess I have met with the difficulties common to all travellers on exa-

mining their note-books; and probably, in selecting matter for publication, may have passed by unrecorded some circumstances which would have afforded entertainment, while others may have been related in which the general reader can feel comparatively little interest. I have done my best; let the critic remember

'Tis glorious e'en to fail in great attempts;

and permit me humbly to remind him that a British sailor is more accustomed to handle the tiller than the pen.

For centuries our intercourse with China has been purely commercial. It has been left to the year 1840 to open that new era, which should bring this mighty oriental nation into angry collision with the inhabitants of the western world, to whom they had been known previously only as semi-barbarians, supplying us, in exchange for our manufactures, with that fragrant herb, become now among us almost a necessary of life, and whose balmy essence fills

The cup
That cheers but not inebriates.

They, however, despising all "outside barbarians," have ever wrapped themselves up in their own pride and self-sufficiency, flattering themselves that their "celestial empire" was at least the *most*, if not the *only*, civilized portion of the world; while they have made even geography itself contribute to their exaltation and supremacy,—China being depicted on their charts as the central nation of the earth!

This age of darkness and ignorant arrogance must fast melt away before the present movement. It is consoling, under the sufferings which the obstinacy and perfidious conduct of their government compel us to inflict upon the people, to reflect that the contest now in progress must result in throwing open the vast empire of China to a more intimate communication with Europeans than has ever yet existed; and thus while it benefits both them and ourselves, in a commercial point of view, must, under God, be the means of elevating them from their present degradation to a state of real civilization. Above all, it may open to the labours

of the Christian missionary one-third of the population of the globe!

The Chinese are essentially a commercial people immured in darkness, and all bowing down before the shrine of Mammon. When we consider their habits and customs, they may be said to be a mass of contradictions to all European nations, the very opposite to ourselves in almost everything.

The facts in the following pages relating to the manners and customs of this strange and most peculiar race are recorded principally from my own observation. I am, however, indebted to the work of Mr. Slade, the Editor of the *Canton Register*, for my account of the proceedings which led to the present war. I have also found the *Chinese Repository*, a periodical published at Macao, of essential service, in furnishing information on Chinese affairs.

The memorials and edicts in the Appendix will I trust prove amusing, while they will be found to throw a strong light on the treachery and duplicity, which the Chinese authorities have without scruple practised

throughout their late dealings with the British.

The rule in our language is so undefined for the orthography of Chinese names, that in the following pages when speaking of provinces, rivers, districts, or cities, I have followed that used in Wyld's maps; thereby affording the reader a ready means of following up the different movements of the expedition.

I must avail myself of the opportunity here afforded me of publicly expressing to Messrs. Matheson, W. Dent, Stewart, and Captain T. Larkins, with many other residents at Macao, my warmest thanks and acknowledgments for the unremitting kindness I experienced at their hands while confined there by the consequences of a severe and painful wound received during the operations at the Bocca Tigris. To Mr. Matheson I feel the thanks of the entire squadron are due; and I feel assured that numbers of the officers of the "China Expedition" will cordially unite with me in offering grateful acknowledgments to that gentleman, whose house

was ever found open and ready for the reception of the sick or the wounded.

P. S.—The Second Volume having been swelled by the account of the most recent occurrences, I have found it necessary to divide the arrangement of the Appendices, in order to render the volumes of similar dimensions; consequently, the Appendices marked with the letters from A to K will be found at the end of the First Volume.

New House Gosport,
October 1, 1842.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME I.

PAGE

Mouth of the Pei-ho. *To face Title-page.*

The Method in which the English Prisoners at Ning-po were carried about 289

VOLUME II.

Temple of Matsoo-po, at Amo-ko, in Macao. *To face Title-page.*

NARRATIVE

&c.

CHAPTER I.

PASSAGE TO CHINA.

Orders to proceed to China—Arrival of Blonde and Pylades—Krewmen dislike going—Island of Mauritius—Placed in Quarantine—Seychell Islands—Coco de mer—Penang—Straits of Malacca—Water-Spout—Malays—Upas Tree—Malacca—Straits of Sincapore.

> To Britain's queen the nations turn their eyes;
> On her resolves the western world relies.—ADDISON.

Ho! for China, was the cheering sound heard on board the Cape squadron, on the morning of April, 1840, when we received the news that our worthy admiral (the Hon. G. Elliot, C.B.) was appointed commander-in-chief on the India station, and would take command of the expedition fitting at Calcutta, which was destined to act against the Chinese; and happy fellows were they whose

ships were selected to join that force,—Melville 74 flag, Modeste 18, Columbine 16. New life was instilled into all our operations, the ships were rapidly refitted, while the naval yard and arsenal resounded with preparations; and much praise is due to Mr. Deas Thompson, naval storekeeper, for his indefatigable exertions, though considerable delay took place consequent on the reduced state of the Simon's Bay establishment.

The Melville's lower deck guns were got on board, and officers were dispatched to Cape Town to raise seamen, her complement being increased to her proper rate. The Blonde and Pylades arrived from England; the latter, after watering, being dispatched to Sincapore to announce to the force there assembling, that the admiral would follow in a few days. Many speculations were made on our future operations, and it was not a little amusing to trace the tempers of the various individuals by their observations. There might be seen the covetous, calculating that the Chinese would cut up well in the shape of prize-money,—and who likes

prize-money better than Jack? Here the ambitious, enumerating the honours and professional steps he would get; while the young and ardent were revelling in the anticipated fight. What to them was a greater ideal pleasure than the whistle of a shot in anger? and like knights of old they were ready to break a lance for their lady love. "Fokies*," take care of your tails, for many have been promised to the fair damsels of the Cape.

The admiral thinking it advisable to take a number of krewmen† in each ship, that during the hot season the watering and boats' duty might be performed by them, directed a certain number to be kept in each vessel; but they did not like the proposition, and, with one or two exceptions, refused to go. In fact, though remarkably fine-looking men, they are not generally too fond of fighting. Jack Blond assumed the part of spokesman for his countrymen serving in the Modeste; and desirable as it would have

* Anglice, "friend," and a familiar way of speaking of the Chinese.

† Natives from the western coast of Africa.

been to have retained them, his blunt oratory proved the hardship of the case too effectual to be disregarded.

"Massa, me no like go China, he very far country—me four years leave krewman land, me want to go see my father—me like ship, me like officer, all very good, but me want to go coast." What could be said? they had only entered for coast service. I referred their case to the captain; and it was finally arranged that our krewmen should accompany us as far as the Mauritius, and be left there for the Acorn then cruising in the Mozambique.

The morning of the 27th saw us ready; all sail was made and everything prepared for a start; but no, old Æolus was sulky, and not a breath of his ruffled the waters for three successive days. This delay, however, afforded us the pleasure of a visit from the ladies of the admiral's family, and many of our Cape friends, whom we should otherwise have missed. The 30th was ushered in with a light north-west breeze. "Signal to weigh, sir!" "Hands up anchor!" "Heave round!"

and we were quickly running out of False Bay, in company with the Melville and Blonde. The Columbine, having to refit after her cruise on the west coast, was to remain some days longer in Simon's Bay.

It had been decided that the Modeste should make the passage to China *via* Mauritius, there to raise men and take on board as great a quantity of provisions as could be carried; thus partly relieving the Cape storehouse. Keeping company until the 1st, our captain received his final orders, and we then left our consort to go in chase of a vessel to put despatches on board her. This duty having been performed, a course was shaped for our destination. Much has been said by others of the horror of Bank L'Agullas, and too many unpleasant recollections of its *heaving* waters are recalled for me willingly to dwell on the subject.

Fine breezes with delightful weather took us to that most beautiful of all islands,—the Mauritius, in seventeen days. He who does not admire its magnificent seenery must have little taste for the picturesque; but alas! we

were merely allowed to see it; for having anchored at the Bell Bouy, the health-boat visited us, and, much to the annoyance of all hands, ordered the yellow flag* to be hoisted, as the small-pox was prevalent at the Cape, and our passage had been so extraordinarily short. This might be a very necessary precaution in some cases, but as there was not a finger-ache amongst the crew, I think it was by no means requisite to continue the quarantine, which in our case was doubly vexing, in consequence of the unnecessary correspondence regarding provisions, &c.; though it is due to the Governor, Colonel Power, to state that he evinced every wish to facilitate our movements.

It appears almost impossible to conceive that a colony which has been for years in our possession, did not possess a 32-pound shot, and could neither furnish us with powder, rockets, or blue lights, &c., but such was the actual case. May I not, therefore, ask whether this ought to be so, or why

* When ships are put in quarantine they are directed to hoist a yellow flag.

matters have been allowed to remain in this state, or from whence can it be supposed the omission arises? These supplies might, it is true, have all been obtained at the Cape, but as ships were expected from England *en route* to China, which would require completing, it was thought unadvisable, in our case, to consume any stores which could, by possibility, be done without. While thinking of public duty, we did not forget the private in the shape of sundry cases of Lafitte, &c., and as we could not buy without samples, a goodly show of bottles was made on our gallant captain's table; a board quickly assembled, and the *commissioners* did ample justice to them. Nor was it a bad amusement to crack midshipman's nuts, and hold learned disquisitions on the various vintages, on which we had to pronounce; not forgetting to give the medical board an occasional growl for depriving us of all the anticipated pleasures we had proposed to ourselves on the passage.

All our imaginations had been excited by the account of the beauty of the fair resi-

dents,—beauties which we were doomed not to see, as we sailed on the 22nd of May, with the yellow flag still at the mast-head.

A pleasant run of six days brought us to Mahe, one of the Seychelles Islands. The town of the same name being situated on its eastern side, but so completely under the high land, that we could with difficulty make out the houses, or some few small vessels close in shore, among which was one of our captures made some months back in the Mozambique. She belonged to the Isle of France, but the master of her having purchased a little boy at Nos Beh, afterwards christened Tom Modeste, she was detained for a breach of the slave laws.

Her unfortunate master died a few days after the capture, and as we had many prize-crews away, she was sent, in charge of the mate, to the Mauritius. Heavy weather and a long passage forced her into port at Mahe, where we were just in time to assist at her condemnation as unseaworthy.

The anchorage formed by St. Anne's and other small islands, is tolerably sheltered, but

the bottom, consisting of coral and rock, makes chain cables desirable.

The purchase of a few bullocks and turtles made a pleasing addition to the larder. An alderman might have relished the soup produced by our *chef de cuisine*. The bullocks, though small, proved good; the price moderate—ten dollars; turtle of 300 pounds, sixteen shillings, and poultry in the same proportion. Previous to the Slave Emancipation Act, the prices were much more moderate. Nature has been so bountiful to these charming islands, placed as they are in about 5° of south latitude, and 55° of east longitude, that all vegetable productions flourish with the slightest labour; the sea abounds with the finest fish, and Blackey finds it much more comfortable to indulge his indolent nature and subsist, than to work and grow rich. From the size and mountainous nature of this group of islands, no carriages or roads permit means of conveyance; the sea is the high road which requires no M'Adam. Should Madame M—— wish to visit Madame L——, she orders her boat,

and very fine boats they are, many of which we saw cruising along the shores.

Among the produce of these islands, the coco de mer (*diacia moradelphia**) is worthy of especial remark. This beautiful palm is peculiarly the tree of some of this group, (Isles of Praslin, Curieuse, and Round,) and attains the height of 50, 60, or even 100 feet; is straight, and apparently without bark; one foot in diameter to its head, where it is crowned with from twelve to twenty leaves. These leaves are very large, and are used in constructing houses and sheds, one hundred leaves furnishing materials for a very commodious dwelling. A new leaf is annually formed, falling away at the year's end, leaving a scar, by which means it is estimated that in a hundred and thirty years the tree arrives at maturity; as few, if any, trees are found to have more than that number of indentations.

All parts of this tree are useful; the trunk

* First volume of the new series of Curtis's *Botanical Magazine*, edited by Sir William Hooker, to which valuable work I am much indebted for my information.

splits into water-troughs, palisades, &c.; the down on the young leaves is used for stuffing mattresses and pillows, while the ribs of the leaves are converted into baskets and brooms; the inhabitants drying the young foliage, and plaiting it into hats, and the nut is applied to various uses. Until the discovery of the tree in the year 1743, it was only known as being found on the coasts of India, or floating on its seas; numerous fables were related about them.

Under certain preparations they were, and are still considered by the Chinese, as antidotes to all poisons. Their doctors take the meat or albumen which lines the nut, rub it down with water in a vessel of porphyry, mingling with it black and white or red coral, ebony and stags' horns, which are all ground together, and being drunk, complete the charm. Of the shell, which possesses fewer medicinal properties, the great men form precious vessels to contain their tobacco, betel, lime, or whatever else they masticate; thus fancying they cannot be contaminated by anything noxious.

Water kept in these shells is supposed to have the virtue of preserving its drinkers from all complaints. The nuts, previous to 1743, were so highly prized in the Maldive Islands, that a subject was liable to suffer death if he were found to possess one, they being the peculiar property of the king, who sold them at an enormous price, viz.: from 60 to 120 crowns each—those which measured the same in breadth as in length being the most prized; and such as were a foot in diameter were valued at 150 crowns. By Garcia ab Orta it was stated to be a terrestrial production, which might have fallen by accident into the sea, and there petrified.

"The Malay and Chinese sailors used to affirm that it was borne upon a tree deep under water, which was similar to a cocoa-nut tree, and was visible in placid bays, &c.; but that if they sought to dive after the tree, it instantly disappeared. The negro priests declared it to grow near the Island of Java, with its leaves and branches rising above the waters, in which a monstrous bird, or griffin, had its habitation, whence it used to sally

forth nightly, and tear to pieces with its beak elephants, tigers, and rhinoceroses, whose flesh it carried to its nest: furthermore, they avouched that ships were attracted by the waves that surrounded this tree, and there retained, the mariners falling a prey to the savage bird; so that the inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago always carefully avoid that spot."

Under the good management of Mr. Mylius, the present governor, these islands promise to be very productive, and already export coffee, bullocks, and many other articles, to the Isle of France, of which they should be made quite independent. But I must not dwell longer on this subject, or I fear the reader will get as impatient as the admiral would probably have been, had we delayed joining him. So, once more under weigh, with a continuation of pleasant weather, steering nearly parallel with the equator, we passed to the southward of Adoumatis Atoll, through the one-and-a-half degree channel, and made Acheen Head on the morning of the 14th of June, having the

previous day boarded the Endora from Sydney to Calcutta, and a lucky boarding it was; her master kindly furnished us with two sacks of potatoes,—*and such potatoes* as we had not tasted since we sailed from the shores of dear old England; and by her we were happy to have the opportunity of sending letters to be forwarded by the overland mail.

Our passage through the Straits of Malacca promised to be long, as at 6 A. M. Pulo Rondo was E. S. E. five leagues, with little or no wind. Pulo Rondo, as its name bespeaks, is a round island covered with jungle. This afternoon, set skysails and royal studsails, and, in company with the captain, pulled round the ship. She was looking remarkably well; and not a little proud did I feel in my own heart while admiring the beautiful proportions of my *wooden wife*; few but an old first lieutenant will be able to enter into my feelings at the time.

On the 15th we tacked for the first time since quitting Simon's Bay, up to that date so favourable had been the winds for all our movements; but now we began to expe-

rience the true straits' weather—flying along at one time nine or ten knots with a *Sumatra,* and the next hour lying a perfect log upon the water, without a breath of wind to fill our sails—the heavy rains that attended these squalls leaving every part of the ship wet and uncomfortable. Frequently we saw the water-spout in all its awful magnificence. I cannot perhaps do better than quote Falconer's beautiful lines on the subject, which, when the reader makes due allowance for poetical imagination, is not overdrawn,—

> While from the left approaching, we descry
> A liquid column tow'ring shoot on high;
> Its foaming base an angry whirlwind sweeps,
> Where curling billows rouse the fearful deeps!
> Still round and round the fluid vortex flies,
> Scatt'ring dun night and horror through the skies!
> The swift volution and th' enormous train,
> Let sages vers'd in nature's lore explain.
> The horrid apparition still draws nigh,
> And white with foam the whirling surges fly.

On the 19th a porpoise was harpooned and safely "landed" on the deck,—many of our previous captures of the same kind having escaped off the grains. On the 20th Prince of Wales' Island was in sight; a spot

that recalls to my memory many happy days; when, having just passed my examination for lieutenant, and full of hope, I gaily wandered over its verdant hills, and day by day fled rapidly away amidst the joyous group of my first and warmest friends. Alas! where are they now? What alteration have a few short years made in this once delightful spot.

After a tedious and harassing passage through the shoals, rocks and islands, with which these straits are crowded, we arrived on the 24th of June off the once important town of Malacca, now dwindled down to the mere memento of what it once was! More than two centuries ago it was the principal mart for commerce in this part of the world; but, since it fell under the rule of the Portuguese and Dutch, it has been declining; nor is it likely ever to recover itself under the British rule: Prince of Wales' Island at the northern end of the straits, depriving it of all the Indian trade which passes through them; while the now flourishing settlement of Sincapore at the southern entrance, affords fine anchorage and every kind of

refreshment for ships arriving from China, or any of the Australian settlements.

Its climate is delightful, though within two or three degrees of the equator; and it is constantly blessed with land and sea breezes, which, blowing over this narrow peninsula, render it fertile in the extreme. The town, fort, and old church have a pleasing and picturesque appearance to Eastern voyagers, while the surrounding country is covered with groves of the liveliest verdure imagination can paint. Indeed, this is a feature of the whole coast, islands and rocks bordering the Malacca Straits,—their flowery shrubs extending to the waters, making one almost wish that this wild and beautiful jungle may never fall before the hand of cultivation.

Still had we some distance to "progress" before entering the China seas; and our anxiety to proceed was not a little increased by having spoken a vessel, from which we gained information that the admiral had arrived at, and sailed from Sincapore about a week previously. How sincerely was the

wind prayed for; and old Æolus had his eyes consigned to the other world on several occasions of a disappointing puff. Hard, indeed, was it to see the morning of the 20th arrive, and our ships not yet in Sincapore roads.

The Straits of Sincapore, lying off the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula, are formed by clusters of most beautiful islands, as various in shape, as they are indented with pleasant little sandy bays and coves, where turtle abound in the greatest plenty. I have frequently purchased turtle of three cwt. for one dollar. The Malays feast on their eggs, but have no taste for the calapash and calapee. The deep clear blue of the water added beauty to the scene, as threading our way through them we slipped silently along, the natives occasionally pulling out in their canoes, and offering fish, fruit, and shells for sale.

The Malays, like the Chinese, have a remarkable similarity of feature; in one you behold the face of the whole nation. If excited by jealousy, or other causes, they are most cunning and revengeful, and when

"running a muck," stab all whom they meet with their kreeses,—curved poniards, which are said to be poisoned with the juice of the upas tree. But this I do not believe, having known several wounds from them, which have shown no very bad symptoms; though I fancy there is no doubt but that the blades of many, after being heated red hot, are plunged into lime juice. The rust which this produces in the grooves of the weapon causes a very dangerous wound, but not so deadly as the gum of the celebrated or fabulous upas tree, the wonderful tale of which, as related by N. P. Foersch, I trust I shall be pardoned for introducing in this place.

"The *Bohun upas* is situated in the Island of Java, about twenty-seven leagues from Batavia. It is surrounded on all sides by a circle of high hills and mountains; and the country round it, to the distance of ten or twelve miles from the tree, is entirely barren. Not a tree nor a shrub, nor even the least plant or grass, is to be seen. To this tree the criminals are sent for the poison, into which all warlike instruments are dipped.

"The poison is a gum that issues out like camphor from between the bark and the tree itself. Malefactors, condemned to death, are the only persons employed to fetch this poison, which is the sole chance they have of saving their lives. They are provided with a silver or tortoise-shell box, and are properly instructed how to proceed while they are upon their dangerous expedition, viz.: they are told to go to the tree 'before the wind,' so that the effluvia from the tree may be blown from them, and they are told to use the utmost dispatch. They are then sent to the old priest who lives on the confines of the desert, who prepares them for their fate by prayers and admonitions. When about to depart, he gives them a long leathern cap, with two glasses before their eyes, which comes down as far as their breast, and also provides them with a pair of leather gloves. They are then conducted by the priest and their relations, about two miles on their journey. Here the priest repeats his instructions, and tells them where they are to look for the tree: he shows them a hill which

they are to ascend, and on the other side they will find a rivulet, which they are to follow, and which will conduct them directly to the upas tree. They now take leave of each other, and, amidst prayers for their success, the delinquents hasten away.

"The old priest assured me, that during his residence there, of thirty years, he had dismissed upwards of seven hundred criminals; and that scarcely *two* out of *twenty* ever returned! All I could learn from one who returned was, that it stood on the borders of a rivulet; that it was of a middling size; that five or six young trees grew round it, but that no other shrub, plant, or atom of vegetation, was to be seen within a circuit of several miles; and that numerous skeletons were in every direction scattered round it."

But I had almost forgotten that all this time the Modeste has been stealing into the anchorage; the government house is in its proper bearing; the anchor is down, captain gone on shore, and the first lieutenant very busy getting a hundred things done that were wanted. The tank came off with water,

and that useful body of men the marines soon pumped her out. These vessels carry from twenty-five to thirty tons, which they supply at the moderate charge of one dollar per ton.

Sincapore, which for its rapid growth is more remarkable than any other of the British possessions, owes its origin to the clear judgment of Sir Stamford Raffles, who at once saw the impulse the India country trade would receive from a settlement in such a favourable position, which must become the highway between India, China, and the Eastern Archipelago. It must be confessed that its natural productions would give employment to a very small number of vessels, but from the wise policy which made it a free port, it has become the modern emporium of the East.

Its population in 1819, when possession was first taken by the English, amounted to about 150 persons,—pirates and fishermen, whose huts were of the most wretched description. By a census taken in 1836, we find the number of its inhabitants had in-

creased to the enormous amount of 29,984, and which, in 1840, had again advanced to about 35,000; more than half of which number reside in the town of Sincapore. The want of females is much felt. If ladies were more plentiful, Señor Malthus would be horrified; but seriously, this scarcity of women is a great evil, there not being in the town more than 4000, which might be remedied by encouraging female emigration from India.

Its population is of the most mixed and diversified character,—Britons, Indo-Britons, Portuguese, Americans, Parsees, Malays, Chinese, Jews, Arabs, Javanese, Bujes, and Ballinese, Siamese, Caffres, Chuliahs, and Klings, Hindustanees, and a hundred others that I do not recollect. The variety of costumes, to be met with in the bazaar, gives a lively character to this prosperous spot.

The Chinese and Malays form by far the greatest portion of these; of whom the Chinese are the most industrious and wealthy class; most of the artizans will be found amongst the natives of China; while the Malays are

fishermen, "hewers of wood, and drawers of water," and are ever ready to enter as sailors on board merchant vessels.

The natives of India are principally small shopkeepers, boatmen, and servants; and many a Madras Dubash may be met in the bazaar, where articles from all parts of the world are to be purchased.

The Caffres are descendants of slaves who have been brought by the Arabs from the Abyssinian coast. But of all these the Chinese are the most useful; a common labourer of that nation will earn from four to six dollars per month, while the wages to any of the other colonists will be about half the sum.

When a country is so densly populated as the Chinese empire is, there must be a great deal of pauperism; and though emigration is contrary to the ancient law of China, the government connives at the lower orders quitting the country. A poor pennyless Chinese agrees with a captain of a junk to pay eight, ten, or twelve dollars for his passage to the Straits, for the payment of which

the captain trusts to his honour; therefore as soon as he arrives he joins some of the secret societies*, which are always formed by the Chinese, and they pay his passage-money; three months generally enables him to get clear of this debt, when he commences to make his own fortune. The greater portion of these emigrants come from the neighbourhood of Canton and Fokien.

The Island of Sincapore contains an area of about 275 square miles. The Straits of Salat Tabrao, which in former days were used by vessels bound into the China seas, separating them from the continent of Asia, are now forsaken for those of Sincapore, which offer a more speedy and safe navigation. The gently undulating appearance of this island has a pleasing effect, the higher grounds seldom rising above 100 feet. Bukit Tima, the highest hill, does not attain an altitude of 200 feet. They are thickly co-

* These societies, though useful to the emigrant, require to be strictly watched by the government, the members of them uniting to resist the laws, and to protect themselves from the just punishments they incur.

vered with forests, many trees of which are well adapted for all purposes of house building. A long and level plain on the southern shores affords a good site for the town, which, standing on a natural lagoon, named Sincapore river, with the assistance of lighters, offers every facility for the loading and unloading of vessels while riding with the greatest security in the roads, free from the typhoons of the China seas, or the scarcely less furious gales of the Bay of Bengal.

The centre of this natural harbour is occupied by a fleet of small craft, in which whole families reside, seldom or ever, "from the cradle to the grave," being on shore; and from all accounts, their manners and customs vary considerably from their brother bipeds.

A large joss-house* is in the course of erection, the carving and ornaments of which are beautifully and elaborately executed. The warehouses and merchants' dwellings are good substantial brick buildings, but generally the minor ones are wooden erections roofed with tiles. The resident's house, Mr.

Chinese temple.

Bonham's, is situated on a small hill, embosomed in trees, amongst which may be found that nonpareil of fruits,—the mangusteen, and which were now (June) just coming into season. The flag-staff near the residency is constantly announcing the arrival of vessels, the entries of which, in 1836, amounted to 203,574 tons.

All the islands which are in our possession in the Malacca Straits are used as penal settlements to India; and under the able and judicious management of the resident, the convicts are not allowed to feel transportation other than it is intended to be,—a situation of labour, correction, and punishment. Many of those cold-blooded and fanatical miscreants, the "Thugs," are here paying the penalty of their horrid crimes: at one time there were about 1500 at Penang alone.

Our men found a seasonable relief in the supplies brought off by the bum-boats, and Jack might be seen revelling in all the joys of fresh eggs and pine apples. An Irishman in the crew amused all hands by a most

original bull,—"Faith, of all the fruit at Sincapore, sure the eggs were the finest."

Much excitement prevailed in consequence of the admiral, on his arrival, directing the detention of some Chinese junks, but which were released as soon as it was understood that they had remained under the guarantee of the resident.

CHAPTER II.

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

Sail from Singapore—Make the Ladrones—Chow-Chow water—Anchor at Macao—Men of War in River—Sail for Chusan—First introduction of Opium—Animated Scene at Cum-sing-moon—Heu-Naetse's Memorial—Heu-Kew's petition against the admission—Local Authorities awkwardly situated—Anecdotes relative to Opium Trade—Tang deeply engaged therein—Chin's Proclamation—Lampoon—Restriction on Opium Trade—Attempt to execute Ho Lankin—Squabble with Mob—Captain Elliot calls a Meeting—State of Trade, 1838—Chinese will have Opium—Exports versus Imports.

The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were any one to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason, it would tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled the barbarians by mis-rule; therefore to rule barbarians by mis-rule is the true and the best way of ruling them.—DAVIS'S *China*.

THE above extract, though not true in its logic, is yet true in its practice; but the position we have now taken with the Chinese must soon convince them that the *barbarians*, as they are pleased to term us, will make it

necessary to treat them otherwise than as wild beasts, and the *force* of our arguments must soon bring them to "Chin-chin us plenty much."

On the afternoon of the 28th of June, 1840, we made sail from Sincapore, a small schooner yacht weighing at the same time, with the intention of trying her rate of sailing; but it was only an intention, for we passed her almost as if she had been at anchor. Ere the sun was down we had fairly entered into the China seas, during our passage across which, the weather being beautifully fine, we painted the ship inside and out, having first led all the ropes to spars lashed along the decks, so as to keep them clear of the bulwarks and masts.

On the night of the 11th of July, made the Great Ladrones, and hove-to for daylight. These islands are situated on the eastern side of the great western channel into the River Tigris; are high, and may be approached with safety, the soundings being regular. At 4 A.M., bore up for Macao roads. As the sun rose, tinging the eastern horizon with

red, the scene became exceedingly beautiful: the high, bold, though barren islands, tipped with his gorgeous rays, formed a fine contrast to the tropical scenery we had but a week or two since been passing through; while the river, covered with fishing-boats in every imaginable position, added a liveliness and spirit to the scene.

With light winds and an adverse tide, we made but little progress; and the Chow-Chow water rendering the ship unmanageable, we were obliged to anchor until the sea breeze set in. Chow-Chow water is a race or eddy caused by the meeting of tides, and without a very strong breeze, ships will not obey their helms; and as it is not confined to any part of the river, it cannot well be avoided.

Macao has a pleasing appearance from the anchorage; but I will defer any account of it until my Journal brings me to that period, when I became better able to form my opinion, which, from a long subsequent confinement at the town, I had ample opportunity of doing.

About 3 P. M. we succeeded in getting into the roads, where, in three fathoms water, we were the same number of miles from the town. We found here H. M. S. Larne, Commander Blake, and Volage, acting Captain Warren; the Druid, Captain Smith, being at Toong-koo, and Hyacinth, acting Commander Stewart, at the Bocca Tigris, enforcing the blockade; the rest of the squadron with the transports having proceeded to the north. On the 13th, Commander G. Elliot in the Columbine, arrived from the Cape, and he found that, in consequence of the death of Lord J. Churchill on the 4th ultimo, he had been promoted to the rank of captain, and appointed to the Volage, Captain Warren returning to his proper ship the Hyacinth, and Clarke, the late flag lieutenant, taking command of the Columbine and being attached to Captain Smith's squadron, thereby enabling the Volage to proceed to the northward.

Captain Smith having it in contemplation to make a display at the Bocca Tigris of the force in the river, we were not allowed to

proceed to Chusan until the 14th, on the morning of which day we worked out of the river and continued beating to windward for some days, the winds perversely continuing in the north-east and eastern quarter; and while this hard-hearted wind is blowing, I will attempt a sketch of the circumstances that have led to this war.

The Opium war, as it has generally been misnamed, from the Chinese having taken their stand on that question, and professing that to save the morals of the people this trade must absolutely be put a stop to, has in the minds of many individuals, raised doubts as to the justness of our present proceedings in China. But neither the morals, nor the health of the subject, has been the real cause; which may more properly be found in the "oozing out of the sycee silver from the central flowery land."

It must be borne in mind that, during the monopoly of the trade held by the East India Company, many quarrels and differences arose between them and the Chinese, but on all which points the Company gave way

rather than forfeit, from any feeling of pique, the advantages they were enjoying. This system could never be followed after the trade became open and the transactions with China assumed a national character; but this difference of position the Chinese never took into consideration, therefore we had a long series of insults to be redressed, among which were—our flag fired upon; the representative of our government with our merchants imprisoned; their property seized, confiscated, and destroyed, their memorials and representations treated with barbarian ignorance, and their persons expelled from Canton: but so fully conscious were the Chinese authorities of the great benefit arising to China from foreign trade, that I conceive, if they had entertained an idea for one moment of the war which has arisen out of their proceedings, they would never have taken any steps that could have led to a collision between the two nations; but our having given way on former occasions made them fancy we should yield to them for ever.

A short time before the commencement of

the present century, opium was admitted into China as a medical drug, and a duty was paid on it of fifty cents per lb.; but it does not appear to have been generally indulged in as a Chinese luxury at that time; though in the Eastern Archipelago, and in many parts of India, opium has always been an article of increasing traffic. Probably its use has been originally introduced into China from these islands, or perhaps from Cochin China; for we find that in 1781, when the Company, in consequence of the India seas being infested with French cruisers, freighted a ship on their own account with opium for the China market, Singua, one of the Hong merchants, became the purchaser, at the moderate price of 210 dollars per chest, but that he reshipped the principal part of it to the Malay peninsula: nor was it until the year 1793 that the opium traders began to experience any annoyance from the Chinese authorities, when, in consequence of the increased vexations and the Chinese pirates or Ladrones becoming very troublesome, the traders at Lark's Bay, where the opium trade

had been long established, in 1794 loaded one of their vessels exclusively with that drug, and fearlessly moved up to Whampoa, at which place she remained for near eighteen months without molestation from the mandarins or others; and from that beginning the trade at that place continued to thrive until 1819.

In 1799, Kielking, governor of the province of Kwang-tung, had memorialized the emperor to prohibit the introduction of the drug, and the opposition became so great from the Chinese authorities, that the Company's supercargoes at Canton recommended the importation of it to be discontinued; but it was becoming to our Indian possessions too lucrative an export to be lightly given up, and each year saw the demand for opium increased and increasing. The depôt-ships, as before stated, remained at Whampoa, and many opium clippers were employed in the transportation of it from India to that place. These were remarkably fine vessels, selected for their sailing qualities, and making the passage to and from China against the monsoon in a comparatively short time.

In April, 1820, Yuen issued a proclamation prohibiting the drug, in which he says, "Opium is an article that has long been most strictly prohibited by his imperial majesty's commands, and frequent proclamations have been issued against it, which are on record." This, combined with the increased vigilance of the subordinates, caused the depôt-ships to establish an anchorage off the Island of Lintin, shifting to Cum-sing-moon as a more secure roadstead during the typhoon season, where the trade still flourished. The Chinese admiral, accompanied by his war-junks, occasionally came down firing away his guns, when a shot from some of the opium traders coming near him warned him it was time to anchor; and, attended by his officers, he would visit their ships, and harangue much in the following language:—

"That Emperor send chop makee strong talkee, must drive away all ship, my chin, chin you, Mr. Captain; katchee anchor, makee walkee, my can talkee that Ison Tuck (Viceroy) all ships have go away!"

They then moved to the other side of the island, or he returned, stating he found nothing but ships in distress refitting. These fellows all receive a bribe of from five to ten dollars a chest, which they always requested the captain to keep back for them from the Chinese smugglers, preferring rather to trust to English honour than to their own countrymen; and about once a month they would visit the ships for payment on the number of chests smuggled.

The following paragraph from the *Calcutta Englishman* of the 30th January, 1837, will put the reader in possession of the flourishing state of the trade at that time:—

"Cum-sing-moon is the anchorage of the opium depôt-vessels during the south-west monsoon. It is a spacious harbour, formed partly by islands and partly by the mainland with a narrow entrance, having an island in the centre of it. Both the islands and the main are lofty, and the ships so well sheltered that, in general, they ride out even the typhoons, against which no anchorage would seem perfectly secure.

"The animated scene witnessed at Cumsing-moon may well arrest our attention awhile. Of the numerous vessels of various sizes in the anchorage, several are depôt-vessels, chiefly for opium. These do not move for years, except from one anchorage to the other, at the change of each season. From daylight to sunset you see alongside of these vessels the smuggling-boats which carry away the opium.' 'These boats are in length, I should think, from fifty or sixty to eighty or ninety feet, pulling from thirty to forty oars, and decked or hatched over, with their long masts, large mat sails, and the conical bamboo caps of the rowers, painted red, white, and blue; they are altogether very picturesque, and you behold them in every variety of situation in this busy scene.

"There are always one or two alongside the depôt-vessels, others approaching for opium, foaming along under sail as if they would dash their stems against the vessels, but suddenly sheer alongside with a skill and dexterity which are truly admirable; others shoving off with their precious freight,

and hoisting their sails; others already pulling and sailing away for Canton at a rapid rate with their cargoes, in defiance of the celestial emperor and the mandarins. The whole scene is one of busy life indeed, for while the depôt-vessels are supplying the smuggling-boats, the clippers, and other vessels importing *the drug*, are supplying them; and launches, cutters, and even jolly-boats are engaged in the work of transhipment of opium and cotton, which last article is often unloaded here from vessels of comparatively small burthen, and sent up in large ships; collecting in this way a full freight, and enabled thus to pay the port duties that would be ruinous to those less burthensome, on which the charges would be nearly the same.

"Step on board the opium vessels, and there again the evidence of an active and lucrative trade are everywhere around you. On one side of the deck you see ranges of chests of Patna and Benares,—the other strewed with the contents of chests of Malwa, which is not packed in balls like the Patna, but in

loose cakes, every one of which the opium dealer examines, rejecting many chests, perhaps, before he takes one. Turn your eyes aft, and you see again in one place boxes of dollars marked 2,000, others marked *sycee*, and in another place the Chinese employed for the purpose, emptying bags of dollars and sycee silver, and shroffing or examining them. The large sycee lumps are like small pigs of lead in form and size, nearly; but the brightness of the pure silver, of course, would prevent your mistaking one for the other.

"It is impossible to behold these symbols of wealth in such abundance as you do in these vessels, and so carelessly scattered about as it appears to be (only *appears*, for it is in reality well looked after), without being strongly impressed with a conviction of the magnitude and importance of the trade. The capital embarked in it is indeed very large, involving nearly twenty millions of dollars. The bargains for opium are mostly made in Canton, though a great many chests are actually sold, and not merely delivered, on

board. When the opium is sold in Canton, the seller gives an order to the opium broker for the delivery; and if it is Patna or Benares, there is little trouble, and his purser or agent gets at once the quantity of the marks specified in his order. If Malwa opium, the latter will examine every cake, and then weigh the whole, and perhaps he will not complete half his order. For great tricks are played in Malwa, and the contents of chests are sometimes changed between the time of purchase and shipment, and a spurious article substituted,—and I have heard of a chest of bricks being substituted by the clever rogues at Bombay. A great portion of the opium is paid for on board in dollars or sycee silver; and a *kumshah*, or present, of five dollars upon every chest is paid to the commander, for him and the officers.

"It is quite a mistake to suppose, as many do, that the smuggling-boats take in their cargoes, and run them at night. The truth is, they carry on their trade, not only in the face of day, but in the presence of the mandarin boats stationed at the anchorage to

prevent it, and they land their cargoes at Canton. What may seem more extraordinary to those who have paid no attention to the accounts of the Chinese government and character is, that the mandarin boats are often employed in smuggling.

"Captain Marryatt has fallen into a ludicrous error in respect to smuggling opium, in one of his works. One of his characters, a smuggler in England, has acquired his skill in smuggling by having been employed in one of the opium traders in India! What an absurd idea! The opium vessels from hence merely deliver their cargoes to the depôt-vessels, with some occasional exceptions; and even the depôt-vessels merely deliver their opium to boats which come alongside of them in broad daylight, with no more risk and trouble than they would have if the trade were legalised. Where, then, are the captains of opium vessels to acquire skill in smuggling? The whole system is curious enough; but the key to the facility with which the laws of China are set at defiance, is to be found in the fact that they are

many of them in opposition to the desires of the people, and that in China, what Sir Robert Walpole once said of English statesmen, is literally and emphatically applicable to every functionary in the empire, from the emperor down to the lowest mandarin,—the emperor not excepted."

Great has been the increase since 1776, when about 1,000 chests were imported; for in 1837 the imports had increased to the enormous quantity of 40,000, for which the Chinese paid upwards of 25,000,000 dollars. In consequence of this immense withdrawing or drain of specie out of the country, the government called upon the great officers to report on the best means of remedying the evil. The Chinese forgot that this might be considered as only the return of a loan; for prior to the increased demand for opium, and previous to our great improvement in machinery, by which we are enabled to export woollen and cotton goods to China, all teas, &c. imported by us were paid for in bullion, which bullion was the Spanish pillar'd dollar. Now every Chinaman does, and every China-

man did punch or stamp a small quantity of silver out of all dollars that passed through his hands; thus in a very short time reducing their value, until they assumed the title of "chopped dollars," and were passed by weight, having thus become a most cumbersome and inconvenient coinage; so that the owners constantly cast them into the form of sycee; and thus considerable quantities of nominal sycee became nothing more than dollars in a different form. Pure sycee contains no small portion of gold, but the Chinese do not understand the art of separating the two metals.

Many of the great officers recommended the admission of opium at a certain rate of duty. Heu-Naetse, vice-president of the Sacrificial Court, says, in his memorial to the emperor,—"It will be found on examination, that the smokers of opium are idle, lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them, and are unworthy of regard, or even of contempt. And though there are smokers to be found, who have over-stepped the threshold of age, yet they do not attain to

the long life of other men. But new births are daily increasing the population of the empire; and there is no cause to apprehend a diminution therein; while, on the other hand, we cannot adopt too great, or too early precautions, against the annual waste which is taking place in the resources, the very substance of China. Since, then, it will not answer to close our ports against all trade, and since the laws issued against opium are quite inoperative, the only method left, is to revert to the former system,—to permit the barbarian merchants to import opium, paying duty thereon as a medicine, and to require that, after having passed the custom-house, it shall be delivered to the Hong merchants, only in exchange for merchandize, and that no money be paid for it.

"The barbarians finding that the amount of duties to be paid on it, is less than what is now spent in bribes, will also gladly comply therein.

"Foreign money should be placed on the same footing with sycee silver, and the exportation of it should be equally pro-

hibited. Offenders, when caught, should be punished by the entire destruction of the opium they may have, and the confiscation of the money that be found with them. With regard to officers, civil and military, and to scholars and common soldiers, the first are called on to fulfil the duties of their rank, and attend to the public good; the others, to cultivate their talents, and become fit for public usefulness. None of these, therefore, must be permitted to contract a practice so bad, or to walk in a path which will lead only to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property.

"If, however, the laws enacted against the practice be made too severe, the result will be mutual connivance. It becomes my duty, then, to request, that it be enacted, that any officer, scholar, or soldier, found guilty of secretly smoking opium, shall be immediately dismissed from public employ, without being made liable to any other penalty. In this way, lenity will become, in fact, severity towards them. And further, that if any superior or general officer be found guilty of

knowingly and willingly conniving at the practice among his subordinates, such officer shall be subject to a court of inquiry. Lastly, that no regard be paid to the purchase and use of opium, on the part of the people generally."

The whole of the foregoing memorial is written in a clear and argumentative style, and, according to its prayer, was referred, by the emperor, to Tang Ting-ching and his colleagues, to report on, who decidedly approved of the proposition, sending nine regulations, with reference to the proposed change, and remark:—

"We your majesty's ministers, having examined the original memorial, and considered the details therein contained, respecting the evils to be removed, regard the whole as true and accurate. The request for a repeal of the prohibition, and change in the system, and a *return* to the former plan of laying a duty on opium, is also such as the circumstances of the times render necessary; and it is our duty to solicit your majesty's sanction thereof."

While these memorials and reports were

urging the emperor to the wise policy of admitting opium with a tariff, Choo-Tsun, member of the council of the Board of Rites, and Heu-Kew, the sub-censor, were petitioning against the admission of the drug, and,—"kneeling," present their memorials, in which they dwelt particularly on the oozing out of the wealth of the land by the quantities of sycee and other silver that is annually exported from China, and condemning the use of opium,—they strongly press on the emperor to make the laws more stringent against its admission, punishing all native traders capitally.

In reply to the foregoing memorials, an imperial edict was issued, directing "Tang and his colleagues,—Ke, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, and Wan, superintendent of maritime customs, anxiously and carefully to consult together upon the recommendations; to search for, and with utmost strictness apprehend all those traitorous natives who sell the drug, the Hong merchants who arrange the transaction in it, the brokers who purchase it by wholesale, the boatmen who

are engaged in transporting it, and the naval militia who receive bribes; and having determined on the steps to be taken in order to stop the source of the evil, let them present a true and faithful report."

Thus were these three worthies, to use a familiar phrase, "in a cleft stick;" for they were all more or less implicated in the opium smuggling. Tang, who thought opium would be admitted at a duty, made a bold push to amass a fortune, using the most strenuous efforts against the "fast crabs" and "scrambling dragons." He engaged in the smuggling trade, sending and driving out of the river all but four boats, of which he was the owner, and which produced the following lampoon from some witty Chinaman:—

O'er the impoverish'd, but broad eastern land,
Our venerable Tang holds chief command.
His favours fall on those who seizures make,
Yet in the daring game he holds a stake.
Four cruising boats his son and comrades keep
To scour the waters of the inner deep;
And in his halls having heaped an untold store
Of gold, unsatiate, still he craves for more;

While dice and women all his hours employ,
Still the fond father censures not the boy.
O, blind to reason! no distinction seen;
The good must bow to tyrants and the mean.
But leagued oppression will resistance cause,
And men's indignant hearts assert the laws.

By these means he monopolized great part of the trade, but now many British-owned schooners and boats were engaged in it; nor can it be much wondered at, when as much as 100 dollars have been given for the freight of a single chest; all of which expenses were paid by the Chinese purchasers.

Sinking the main question, these worthies call upon the Hong merchants to state, whether certain merchants, named in the memorial and edict, did not reside in the factories therein stated, and whether they are concerned in smuggling opium in, or sycee out of, China?

On the Hong merchants' report, Tang and his colleagues, on the 23rd of November, 1836, revived an old edict, which declares:—"If any foreigner, in consequence of its being impracticable for him at once to dis-

pose of his merchandize, is unable to call in all his property, and has therefore no option but to remain in China, then he must, after the foreign ships have left the port, go and reside at Macao, and place his commodities in the hands of a Hong merchant to be sold for him; which being done, the Hong merchant is to pay him the whole price; and, in the following year, he must avail himself of one of the ships of his nation to return home. If the Hong merchant and linguist suffer foreign merchants by degrees to take up their residence in Canton, they shall be severally subject to strict investigation."

On this resuscitated edict they directed that the foreigners should quit Canton, kindly allowing them half a month to make up their accounts, and pack up their effects. To this the Hong merchants replied, that they had received letters from the several merchants requesting permission to remain longer; some wanting three months, and others an indefinite time, which being remarked on by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and hoppo, the time was extended to four months from

the 4th of December, 1836,—the date of the orders.

The governor, in his report to the emperor, corrects errors as regards the residence of foreigners; exculpates the Hong merchants from the charge of trading in opium; states his reasons for prolonging the stay of foreigners: "Jardine's trade and that of others is very extensive, and winter is the busiest time. To order them now abruptly away would not look like a compassionate regard; but they are all ordered down to Macao."

He then alludes to Heu-Kew's report of foreigners at Macao riding in sedan-chairs carried by Chinese bearers, which is forbidden by the Chinese law, but that the Chinamen, on being examined, pleaded poverty as their excuse.

He further says, that though the poor native women and foreign families have communication with each other, it is not for improper purposes; and should such crimes be found to exist, the criminal will be severely punished; finishing his report by as-

suring the emperor that he is now giving his whole mind to the subject of the memorial, and that his most strenuous efforts will be exerted to put down smuggling in opium and sycee;—and so they were, if issuing edicts could do it.

The merchants, as it suited their convenience, went to Macao, and the opium trade continued.

On the 23rd of August, 1837, Chin, admiral of the squadron of Fokien, and Tow, commander of the garrison of Kinmuh, &c., issued an "intelligible proclamation," which, dwelling on the foreigners paying no attention "to the laws of heaven's dynasty," whose compassion is as "boundless as the ocean," orders all the ships to quit the coast; or, say these mighty boasters, "along the boundaries of our country we shall place a thousand ships of war, numerous as the stars, and disposed in array like a chess-board. At the first call they will immediately respond;—one cannot resist a host; and it is to be feared, that when the admiral of the station and the commander of the

garrison unite their troops, thick as the congregated clouds, you will not be able to sustain their attack.

"But we military and naval commanders do not wish to kill you in cold blood, without warning you of the consequences of your present line of conduct; therefore we specially proclaim to you beforehand, and if ye have any wisdom you will immediately return,—a circumstance at which we shall truly rejoice." "

That they would have rejoiced, no one, who knows the Chinese, will doubt; for in addition to a paucity of courage, the authorities are held responsible to the emperor for any disturbance that may take place in their governments.

That the proclamation was so much waste paper, the ships remaining at their anchorage abundantly proved; but Chin had *saved his face* by the proclamation. This expression would be rendered in English by "saved his credit."

On the 24th of September we find Chin again issuing orders to the foreign ships:—

"I, the commander-in-chief, have received a communication from the great man or governor, desiring that I should myself put to sea, and at the head of the fleet drive you away. Obey, and you shall be treated with kindness; resist, and you shall be overwhelmed with terrors."

And orders were at the same time issued to the Hong merchants, that certain traitorous foreigners were to leave Canton for Macao. Still delays took place, and Tang the governor benefited greatly by the smuggling. On the 20th of November he launched another edict, giving the opium ships a month to remove from Lintin, and return to their own country.

At the expiration of that time, the Hong merchants represented to him, that the foreigners state "they have no power over the receiving-ships, as they do not belong to them." Tang, on the 22nd of December, 1837, threatens in an edict, that he will certainly request orders from his imperial majesty, that the trade may be stopped with all those nations which have any

receiving-ships, and thus bring them to submission.

Now it might be supposed from the foregoing extracts, that the Chinese have been very ill-used, and that the opium trade has been forced on them; but such was not at all the case. I must beg my readers to divest themselves of such an idea; for be it remembered, while the Chinese statesmen pencil their highly moral edicts and memorials with one hand against the admission of this poisonous drug, with the other they receive bribes and fees, levied for the secret admission of this baneful enchantment. Nay, they themselves, in secret, revel in all the luxury of the opium pipe; a luxury which, when once indulged in, it is almost impossible to shake off.

Tang, deeply steeped in the trade, could not escape the quick eyes of his countrymen, who are ever ready with a lampoon. The following one was stuck on his house:—

Where Yue's lands are broad, yet poor,
The venerable Tang holds sway;
His bailiffs knock at every door,
And drag both good and bad away!

O Tang! if from the drug you'd set us free,
Yourself would soon a prisoner be.

On the 2nd of December, 1837, the governor of the two provinces, Kwang-tung, and Kwang-se, refusing to correspond with Captain Elliot, the superintendent, on the conditions pointed out by her majesty's ministers, the British flag was struck, and Captain Elliot issued a public letter to the British subjects, detailing his reasons for so doing, and for his departure from Canton.

In the year 1838, the restrictions on the opium trade became exceedingly troublesome; and a poor fellow, Ko Seping, was strangled at Macao, on the 7th of April, for being an opium dealer.

During this and the previous year, owing to these obstructions, and the activity of the officers at Lintin, a most extensive opium trade was carried on at Whampoa, without the least disguise; but on the 17th of September, an officer appeared at that place, to search for, and seize opium. The people resisted, and a riot was the consequence, in

which the officer was wounded, and many lives were lost; but fresh troops being sent from Canton, the disturbance was at length quelled.

Edicts and orders were now promulgated in quick succession, commanding all opium vessels to leave the river; and an imperial edict appeared, in November, denouncing death against the dealers and smokers of opium under a new law, which was to appear in three months.

Ko Seping's murder, for I can call it by no other name, was, to the astonishment of all the foreigners, followed on the 12th of December, by an attempt to execute Ho Lankin, a dealer in opium, and who kept a tavern appropriated to smoking that drug. As this transaction was to take place in front of the factories, and directly under the American flag, the consul of that republic immediately ordered it to be struck. This attempt created a great sensation in the minds of the whole community of foreigners; and the first observers of the proceedings interrupted the erection of the cross, on which

the arms of those ordered to be strangled are extended in a straight line*.

The greater part of the resident foreigners quickly assembled on the spot, and pointed out plainly, but peaceably, to the mandarins on duty, that such a thing could not be tolerated, and if they persisted in attempting to carry it into effect, they must take the consequences. After a little time, the officers, finding they would not be allowed to complete the execution, the preparations were stopped, and the officers withdrew, removing, at the same time, the instruments of death.

The surrounding multitude, which had assembled to witness this intended execution, appeared pleased at, and to approve of the postponement of it; but, unfortunately, several trifling disputes took place, consequent

* Strangling is also a capital punishment in Portugal. A platform is erected with an upright pole in the centre; the criminal is then seated in a chair, with his back to the post and his arms pinioned, when the executioner places a rope round his neck and brings it tight with what at sea is called a Spanish windlass.

on the pressure of a Chinese crowd, and, on their being driven back, they as quickly returned, till at length they retaliated with stones, the showers of which "came fast and furious." Most of the Chinese excel in the art of pelting; and the merchants were obliged to retire to their factories, a promise being given that the police should be sent to disperse the "great unwashed."

More, however, than two hours elapsed before the police appeared, during which time, the lawless mob pulled down the walls and railings of the factories, and demolished the windows; being emboldened by impunity, they were attempting to force the factory door, with battering rams; when, at this critical moment, the military arrived, and dispersed the rioters, and, in an hour, every thing wore its usual quiet appearance; proving how easily a Chinese mob is governed, even under very great excitement.

Most opportune was the arrival of this tranquillizing force; for had the foreigners been driven to defend themselves with fire-arms, much bloodshed and loss of life must

have ensued, and as they could only muster a few muskets, they might have been unable to have maintained their position.

In the evening, Captain Elliot arrived from Whampoa, bringing with him about 120 seamen, collected from the merchant-shipping at that anchorage, but most fortunately their services were not required.

All these transactions were distinctly communicated to the viceroy of Canton, in a remonstrance from the Chamber of Commerce on the 14th of December, 1838, which remonstrance was answered by Tang on the 16th, who insisted on his right and the propriety of his having ordered that the execution should take place on that spot, thereby to strike terror into the foreign dealers in the drug, "and that the depraved portion might be prevented from pursuing their evil course."

"Those foreigners, though born and brought up beyond the pale of civilization, have yet human hearts. How should they then have not been impressed with awe and dread and self-conviction? Can they yet

put pen to paper to draw up such insane whining."

Then stating that the factories belong to the Celestial Empire, and are merely granted by the "great emperor," as a favour, he goes on to say,—"What have you foreigners to do with the question, whether convicted persons shall there be executed or not? Say you, that the ground is used as a place of exercise by all the foreigners? And is it not then a place of concourse also for the people, —the natives of the land? No daring presumption, no absurd complainings, can exceed these! They are execrable in the extreme."

Thus was Mr. Lindsay's temperate and well-digested remonstrance answered, accompanied with threatenings at the same time, that many more executions should take place; and that any "presumptuous and perverse foreigners" who might dare to interfere, should be reported by the Hong merchants, that they might be expelled.

The Hong merchants at the same time represented to the Board of Commerce, that in consequence of the seizure of some smug-

gled opium, they had been ordered to wear the cangue*, but by earnest entreaty had escaped; and, in future, to prevent the degradation, all tenants of factories were required to give a bond that they would not engage in smuggling any article in the decked boats and schooners; and further they were warned against the exportation of sycee silver.

Shortly after the riot on the 12th, the following lampoon was circulated at Canton; the individuals named in the third and fourth lines were notorious opium dealers, supposed to be screened by Tang, who is charged with receiving from them and other inferior magistrates three tens and six, or 36,000 taels† per month, for the use of the revenue vessels for smuggling. From the seventh

* The "kea," or "cangue," is a wooden collar from three to four feet square, having the crime for which it is worn engraven on it; this wooden pillory is sometimes worn for a month, during which period the wearer must be fed by others.

† One thousand tchen ought to be equal to one tael of fine silver, but from the adulteration of the coin the tael is now worth 1200.

to the tenth line the author evidently alludes to the late attempted execution :—

In truth, there's no luck at all in Canton,
For Tinching in governor's hall is found,—
Who, of Cheih Shakwang, is the well-known patron,
And Ta Luhchuh by him rose from the ground.
The boats of Two Kwang are privily let,
For a monthly sop of three tens and six.
Poor Ho Laoukin! he strangled him to death,
Because his cash and coin could not suffice;
How was the cross all broken down and lost.
And the curtained tent quite overset and tost!
He put a tell-tale cangue on Punhoyqua,
And squeezed the pelf from Uncle Howqua.
He scared poor Fung Suhchang almost to death,
And Lew Shooluh had well-nigh lost his breath.
If we hope for halcyon days of peace to come,
Unbutton and dismiss this infamous Tang;
For if he stays one year in power,
Canton will be just like one hot cauldron.

On the 18th of December, her majesty's chief superintendent, Captain Elliot, called a meeting of all the foreigners in Canton; in his address to whom, he observes that the events of the last week must be anxiously considered by all the resident foreigners in China.

After thanking them for their general sup-

port and assistance, his excellency went on to remark, that the origin of the dispute might be traced to the extensive traffic in opium conducted by small boats; which traffic could only lead to the interruption of all legal trade, of suffering and loss to all those *not* engaged in it, and the daily exposure to imminent danger of every native connected with the foreigners.

Attentively considering the question, he (Captain Elliot) announced that he intended to serve notices on all British-owned boats which were actually engaged in the illicit traffic, to proceed outside* within three days; and if they failed to conform, he should put himself in communication with the provincial government, and fully express his own views on the treatment of so serious an evil.

On the 18th this notice appeared, and further cautioned all her majesty's subjects

* Vessels below the Bocca Tigris were called outside, in contradistincton to those above, or inside; the high Chinese officers never venture below the Bogue forts in their boats of state.

engaged in the opium traffic, that if any native came by his or her death in the course of this illicit trade, they would be subject to prosecution and trial in the same manner as if they were within the jurisdiction of her majesty's courts at Westminster; and that, should any vessel be seized by the Chinese government engaged in these contraband dealings within the Bocca Tigris, her majesty's government would in no way interfere for their protection.

Gloomy had been the horizon of the China trade for some years, but at the end of 1838 it had become overclouded to a most alarming degree; though the oldest and wisest heads could not foresee the storm that was about to burst. Very probably the attempt to introduce an hospital-ship at Whampoa with the arrival of a ship in the previous year, laden with opium, had excited fears at the court of Pekin, to which no doubt it had been reported that the opium trade would again return to the "inner waters." Many of the foreign merchants were anxious that a stoppage should be put

to the illicit trade at Whampoa, fearing that collisions would take place, and a general inconvenience to all trade ensue; but when the government and the Hong merchants were inactive,—as the British merchants had no right to control,—obedience could not be expected from all, nor could any particular individual be expected to give up a trade that others might reap all the advantages.

How far Captain Elliot's notice was judicious must be left to the reader's consideration. But it has ever appeared to me that it is the duty of the Chinese government to enforce its own revenue laws, and that we have no right or business to assist the Chinese authorities. It had been the practice of the East India Company, established by long experience, never on the ground of expediency, policy, or other pretext, to assist the Chinese in any difficulty; and the Chinese government might and would naturally conclude, that if Captain Elliot had power to drive the boats and schooners out of the "inner waters," he could equally force the receiving-ships to quit the "outer waters,"

and by these means striking at the root of the opium trade in the Canton River: for to suppress it is utterly impossible, until the whole character of the Chinese nation becomes altered.

Opium they will have; and experience has proved that all the obstacles and difficulties thrown in the way of the trade have only tended to increase it, and extend it along the whole coast of China.

It would be just as easy to put down beer and gin drinking in England; and I much question if there are not as many English gin sufferers as there are Chinese opium sufferers, for the opium is used by them in the least deleterious manner, viz., by smoking.

But, as I have before observed, it is not the question of health or morality with the Chinese; it is, that our imports have given a great balance in our favour, as is shown in the following table:

	£.
Our purchases for the year ending June 30, 1838, for teas, silk, and all other articles, amount to . . .	3,147,481
Our sales of opium, metals, and cotton, to	5,637,052
Balance in favour of British .	2,489,571

which was generally paid in sycee, the export of which, in 1837-8, amounted to nearly nine millions of dollars.

Thus we see what was the chief and true reason for attempting to stop the trade in opium; and accordingly the edicts previously or subsequently to this year, enlarged more on the abstraction of the sycee than on the morals of the people.

CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION OF THE OPIUM QUESTION.

Provincial Government communicate direct with Superintendent—Large Passage-boats—Keshen's Memorial—Chinese strangled before Factories—Arrival of Lin—His Edict—Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce—Mr. Dent refuses to enter the city—Degraded state of Howqua—Meeting at the Consoo-hall—Weiyuen—Mr. Inglis accompanies the Weiyuen—Interview at the Temple of the Queen of Heaven—Captain Elliot's Circular—He proceeds to Canton—Flag re-hoisted—Public Meeting—Servants ordered away—Guards placed round the Factories—Pleasure-boats seized—Opium demanded—Mr. King—Present of Provisions—Notice of Hong merchant.

With the claws of an eagle, the heart of a kite,
Let flattery, and cunning, and falsehood unite,
To *deceive* all above us, oppress all below—
And we shall have fortune, whoever has woe.

DAVIS'S *translation of the "Sorrows of Han."*

THE above character, drawn by a prime minister's own hand, may be justly applied to the greater number of mandarins in China.

On the 1st of January, 1839, Captain

Elliot published a notice, that in consequence of the provincial government having consented to communicate direct with the chief superintendent, under the seal of the Kwang-chow-foo and Kwang-he, the public intercourse would be renewed; and that the seals of his, Captain Elliot's, addresses to the governor should be broken by his excellency.

Accompanying the notice there were two letters, part of a correspondence between him and the governor regarding the opium traffic, in which he sets forth his ideas and those of the British government on the subject, and requests that his excellency will signify his pleasure to him through the proper officers.

The second letter is the answer of Tang, sent through the before-named Chinese officers, and dated the 25th December, 1838, in which the following paragraph shows that he had already taken up the idea that the superintendent could expel the vessels:—

"The said superintendent came, I find, to Canton, in obedience to commands re-

ceived from his sovereign, to exercise control over the merchants and seamen, to repress the depraved, and to extirpate evils. Having such commands given to him, he must needs also have powers. It is very inexplicable then, that these boats having, in violation of the laws, entered the river, he should now find it difficult to send them out again, owing to his not having the confidence of all."

Thus quickly did they try to take advantage of Captain Elliot's notice.

The small craft having been driven outside of the Bocca Tigris, an attempt was made to establish a line of large passage-boats between Canton and Macao, such boats to carry licences from the Chinese authorities; but from the vexatious delays and restrictions imposed by the regulations under which they were allowed to run, they were not found to answer; "and the Snipe," one of the number, was soon caught in the meshes of the law, seized under a false or erroneous charge of smuggling, and eventually broken up in the river in front of the factories.

During this month all trade was much impeded,—the Hong merchants hesitating to secure the ships through fear of being implicated in any smuggling transactions that might take place at Whampoa, and requiring a *new* bond from the masters of ships, which, from the wording of the bond, could not be complied with.

At length the senior Hong merchant informed the foreign agents that, the ships, already arrived, would be secured under the usual bond of there being no opium on board; but that new regulations would be drawn up for the government of vessels arriving in the next season, and which regulations they "most respectfully offered up to their lightning glance" on the 16th of January.

By these new regulations they required a bond that no opium was on board, that no decked boats should be used, and that if any improper doings were discovered, they, the signers, would cheerfully submit to the penalties of the regulations, which enjoined confiscation of property with most enormous fines.

Now, I have no hesitation in saying, that with such a bond the Chinese would not scruple secretly to deposit opium in a vessel to get her within the net of the law; so that disputes and litigations of every kind would have undoubtedly taken place, putting us precisely in the position with China, in which we are at the present moment.

The foregoing observations may be by some considered illiberal towards the Chinese; but I am perfectly borne out in it by their new law against opium-smoking*; in the first section of which, and sixth rule, the law is thus laid down:—

"Any soldier or policeman, or any of those idle blackguards who infest every place,————who shall, through malice,

* When the difficulties arose in Lord Amherst's embassy to China, as to the performance of the ko-too, Soo and Kwang, two high officers appointed to attend on the ambassador, "hinted that even if Lord Amherst complied here, he might make any report he pleased on his return to England." Lord Amherst replied, that were he base enough to falsify the account, he had seventy-four witnesses with him, who would state the truth.—ELLIS'S *Embassy to China.*

or a desire to extort money, themselves secrete opium in the house, that an accusation may be supported against their victim, shall, whether principal or accomplice, be held punishable under the law," &c.

It has ever been the practice of the Chinese to try and introduce their own system of responsibility into all their transactions with foreigners; as far back as 1820 they endeavoured to obtain bonds not to import opium, but which attempt was successfully resisted by the select committee.

"It may," says Dr. Morrison, in allusion to the subject, "be questioned, whether the rights of the port, which usage has established, should be carelessly abandoned. If the Chinese plead usage for the maintenance of old grievances, should the Europeans not plead usage for the maintenance of old rights? People, who will not give the benefit of national law, cannot justly claim a right to the same practice as those who throw their courts and their laws and their lawyers open, to be employed by any or by everybody. When China shall give what European nations give

to each other, then may she exact what they exact of each other."

Disputes seemed to be all quickly coming to an issue. On the 21st of January a "fire express*" arrived at Canton, by which Lin Tsihseun, commonly known to us as Lin; the governor of Hookwang, was announced to have been invested with the powers and seals of an imperial envoy, and directed to proceed post-haste to the province of Kwang-tung to investigate the affairs of the seaports of that province; and the same day Tang, the governor, and E, the lieutenant-governor, received a despatch from the privy council, recapitulating the appointment of Lin, and calling on them to "scrub and wash away the filth," and directing Tang to consult with Lin on the best method for stopping the evil.

Simultaneously with these, Tang and E published a proclamation to all foreigners,

* The fire express travels at six hundred le per day, and the post-haste express at four hundred. About three le are equal to one English mile: these expresses are carried by inferior mandarins on horseback.

which commences by praising the bounty and goodness of the head of the Celestial Empire in allowing foreigners to trade with China; goes on to state that it is utterly impossible they can exist without such trade; that if the opium ships are sent away, the rest may continue, but that if they stubbornly remain there, the ports should be shut:—"The tea and rhubarb of the inner land will not be permitted to leave the country; and thus may we instantly hold the life of any foreigner at our command."

Dreadfully alarmed were these worthies at the appointment of Lin, and the Hong merchants and others looked on it with anything but complacent feelings; the high commissioner being known as a violent opposer to the admission of opium on any terms, and as a bigot to all the ancient laws and customs of China, for which he was highly admired by numbers of his fellow-citizens.

A further consequence of these strict orders from Pekin, was the closing all the northern entrances of the factories, commonly

known as the back doors, and which had been opened after the great fire in the suburbs of Canton in 1821, when the factories were burnt.

About this time there appeared a memorial to the emperor on the opium and sycee question from Keshen, viceroy of Petche-li, by whom we were, about a year and a half afterwards so completely bamboozled. That he is one of the most acute and wily of Chinese statesmen is, I believe, generally acknowledged; and that he was fully aware how utterly incapable China was of contending against the British power, his subsequent memorials to the Emperor have proved.

This memorial affords but a very poor idea of Chinese literature, when we find the most talented of her children writing such absurd nonsense. He falls into the most gross mistakes in his calculations, asserting that in thirty or forty years, the use of opium has been the means of "several thousand myriad myriads" of taels leaking out to the distant foreigners. Now this is a prodigious error; for at ten millions per year, it would only

amount to four hundred millions in forty years.

It would appear inconceivable that such a miscalculation could be any other than wilfully made to mislead his celestial master, did we not find this same learned and talented mandarin *pencilling* in continuation the following most extraordinary nonsense:—

"Again, in reference to the foreign money which these said foreigners bring, it is all boiled with, and reduced by quicksilver. If you wrap it up, and put it past for several years without touching it, it will become moths and corroding insects, and their silver cups will change into feathers or wings. Their money is all of this species: and if we leave it for four or five hundred years, I'm sure I don't know what it will change into at last!"

Again, he says, alluding to our demand for tea and rhubarb:—"The reason of this is, that their climate is rough and rigorous, the sun and wind both fierce and strong; day by day they subsist on beef and mutton; the digestion of this food is not easy; their

bowels are bound up, and they speedily die; therefore it is, that every day after meals they take of this divine medicine in order to get a motion of their bowels."

To remark on these paragraphs would be to insult the understanding of my readers. He ends his memorial by advising the emperor to forbid all foreign trade, until the opium traffic is by these means completely stopped; to deal mildly with opium smokers, amongst whom will be found civilians and soldiers; the rich, who take delight in doing good; clerks in public offices; "perhaps the most beautiful, the most refined, the most accomplished of our women! and perhaps virtuous widows, chaste as the icicle itself;" with husbandmen, mechanics, and merchants. "If such," says he, "are for the mere whiffing of a pipe of opium, to fall into the net of the law, then the clanking of their bonds and fetters will be heard in every highway; the prisons will be so crowded as not to leave an inch of space."

Notwithstanding all these pleadings, blood was the order of the day, and the deed which

the Chinese had been prevented from committing at midday on the 12th of December, 1838, was hurriedly, and I may say, almost secretly, carried into effect on the 26th of February, 1839; a poor wretch, an opium dealer, being in the afternoon of that day, when but few foreigners were on the spot, brought into the factory square, and there strangled; the officer attending the execution departing as rapidly as he came,—a few minutes sufficing to end the whole affair.

This cruel exhibition, this wanton invasion of the foreign factory grounds, must be execrated by all; and the feeling of the residents was speedily shown by the immediate hauling down of the national flags, which were usually displayed before the different Hongs.

On the 4th of March, Captain Elliot addressed a firm remonstrance to Tang on the subject of the late execution, requiring that his excellency should issue directions prohibiting any such matter taking place there in future.

To this the governor did not deign to

reply; probably the expected arrival of Lin caused him so much anxiety respecting his late opium dealings, that he could not concoct an answer. For it appears that Lin had already written a letter to him, directing the seizure of a great number of officers and police runners, as parties criminated by their opium doings, and the military governor of Canton was said to be amongst the number. Many of those most open to accusations escaped; but on the commissioner's arrival the chief of the police at Macao was arrested and ample confessions extorted from him, involving, it was said, many of the magistrates of the surrounding districts.

The naval officers at the Bocca Tigris thought he might perhaps begin with them; and the admiral actually sent a deputation to Macao, to try and prevail upon the masters of the opium ships to "sail away." Gradually these apprehensions subsided, as it became evident that Lin did not intend to punish the instruments, whose aid he might require in his future operations. Many of those who had been most deeply engaged in

the traffic, purchased small quantities of opium and delivered it up, as having been seized by them. That the eunuchs about the palace were very extensive dealers in the drug, the many severe edicts show; and in no port was the smuggling easier than at Teen-Tsin, about ninety miles south-east of Pekin.

Most ample lists of all those engaged in the traffic were possessed by the influential men in the celestial city; in fact, connivance was purchased from them by the disclosure of the names of all those employed as contrabandists; so that when wanted, they could be *squeezed* to fill the pockets of their superiors, or strangled to evince the vigilance of some great man, and to exhibit the rigour of the law.

The emperor himself is accused of having been in former days an admirer of the now-forbidden pipe.

Lin's appointment and expected arrival created a great sensation at Canton; his known stubbornness of character, his love for the old laws, and his unlimited powers, made the Hong merchants fear a rupture; and his

first steps after his arrival on the 10th March, were not calculated to allay the alarm; for on the 18th he issued a proclamation, specially addressed to the foreigners at Canton; on the heels of which followed one from the Hoppo, forbidding foreigners going to Macao.

Lin, in the above-named edict, assures them that he has been sent down with "irresponsible authority to prevent the influx of opium;" that he has sworn to stand or fall by the opium question; and that he will put down the bringing in the drug, and that to do so effectually, he will call out, if necessary, the whole land and sea force against such foreigners as may attempt to introduce it: and he further threatened that he would incite the common people to arise and utterly annihilate them! A threat never before heard of in the annals of any nation claiming to have an established government, or pretending to civilization; but it is on a par with the absurd boast of his irresponsible power, by which he implies that the lives and property of the foreigners were at his mercy.

He commanded all the opium in the ships

to be given up to his officers, and that all foreigners should enter into a bond that no ships should bring opium; and that if any one did, her whole cargo should be confiscated, and her people put to death;—"and that they will willingly undergo it as a penalty of their crime." For conformity with these rules three days were allowed.

This edict naturally excited the indignation of foreigners, and required their instant attention to the safety of their threatened liberty, property, and lives.

The Hong merchants, under Lin's directions, visited the principal merchants to ascertain what offensive and defensive weapons they possessed, which, combined with the Hoppo edict before alluded to, showed in the high commissioner a determination, confirmed by his subsequent acts, to carry out his threats.

A deputation on the 19th met the Hong merchants at the Consoo-hall, where a conversation took place as to the giving up the opium, but which the deputation declined answering at the present moment.

To a question, as to the probable amount

of compensation that would be given by the Chinese government, should the opium be surrendered, the Hong merchants replied by referring to the present low price, and supposed that a portion of such low price would be gladly accepted.

At the same meeting an edict from Lin to the Hong merchants was translated. In it he reproaches them for conniving at the smuggling trade, upbraids them for want of dignity in their visitings and transactions with foreigners, and winds up by threatenings to decapitate one or two of their number.

When Lin first arrived, he received the Hong merchants seated behind a yellow satin screen, with the imperial arms embroidered thereon, the Hong merchants being on their knees, with their foreheads touching the ground.

On one occasion he kept them six hours in this position, while asking them questions. Afterwards he allowed Howqua, in consequence of his great age,—to which much respect is paid in China,—to be seated on a

low chair, but still sufficiently distant to mark their difference of rank.

The general Chamber of Commerce was convened on the 21st; and, after some debating, an answer to the following purport was returned to the Hong merchants:—That the communications made by the commissioner were of such vital importance, and involved such various interests, that it was not possible to give a hurried reply; but that they should be taken into consideration, and an answer returned at the earliest possible period. At the same time they, the foreigners, were almost unanimously of opinion that it was absolutely necessary that they should have nothing to do with the opium traffic.

On this communication being made to Lin, he declared nothing would satisfy him but the delivering up of the opium; and that if this demand was not complied with instanter, he would, on the morrow, sit in judgment on the Hong merchants, and decapitate two of their number.

On this reply being known, an extraordi-

nary meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was convened at ten o'clock at night, to take this reply into consideration. It was speedily agreed to request the attendance of the Hong merchants; in compliance with which the following parties, Howqua, Mowqua, Puankhequa, Samqua, senior and junior Poonhoyqua, Mingqua, Gowqua, Saoqua, Yetuck, Fontai, and Kinqua, very shortly afterwards arrived. On being questioned as to what passed between them and the imperial commissioner, they stated, that on their presenting the words of the merchants' letters, he said,—"They are trifling with the Hong merchants, but that they should not do so with him: he declared, that if opium was not given up, he should be at the Consoo-hall to-morrow, at ten o'clock, and then he would show what he would do."

They, the Hong merchants, thought, that if one thousand chests were given up he would be satisfied, and believe his order had been obeyed; but they could not guarantee such result, or that the trade might proceed without molestation. And they

further added, if the opium—the actual property of the residents, was given up, they could not venture to secure that what belonged to their consignees would be allowed to be taken away.

After an animated debate it was resolved, that in consequence of the threat held out against the Hong merchants, one thousand chests of opium should be promised to be given up, which quantity should be supplied by joint contributions, a solemn protest against the acts of the commissioner being at the same time delivered with it.

It is to be deeply regretted, that this meeting allowed their fears for the lives of the Hong merchants to be worked upon, and that they should have permitted themselves to be driven into a contradiction of their morning statement, "that they could not decide on such matters without time." Besides, if the commissioner had the right to force them to deliver up one *single catty* of opium, he had clearly an equal right to make them surrender all that was in the river. And was it not in some degree a tacit

acknowledgment, that all the accusations and insulting assertions of the commissioner were correct? The bad effect of thus yielding was soon felt. Indeed, the very hurried meeting of the Chamber of Commerce had operated badly on the mind of the violent and tyrannical Lin, who by it fancied he saw the agitation his steps had produced amongst the "barbarians;" and imagined that a little *harder squeeze* would make them obedient.

On the 22nd, it was rumoured that 4,000 chests would be the quantity required to be given up; and Mr. L. Dent was prevailed upon by the Hong merchants, to promise to accompany them into the city on the next day, the imperial commissioner wishing, it was said, to have a personal interview with him; but the treatment of Mr. Flint*, and the general treachery of the Chinese, being recalled to Mr. Dent's mind, he rescinded his promise, unless a safe-conduct was given him, under the commissioner's hand and seal, he being the only irresponsible officer then present in Canton.

* See DAVIS's *China*.

March the 23rd. In the forenoon of this day, the two senior Hong merchants, Howqua and Mowqua, having a small loose iron chain thrown over their heads and resting on their shoulders, and accompanied by the rest of their order, all without their official buttons, proceeded to Mr. Dent's house, and stated to him, that if he did not obey the commissioner's summons, and go into the city during the day, the two seniors above-named would be beheaded before night.

Mr. Dent firmly adhered to his refusal, unless the required safe-conduct was sent to him. A meeting, however, was convened in the hall of the British consulate, to consider the point. But Mr. Johnston, the second superintendent, refused Howqua and Mowqua admission in their felonious and degraded state; the meeting was adjourned to the Chamber of Commerce, where Howqua again stated, that his head would be taken off, if Mr. Dent still persisted in his refusal.

After the chamber had pointed out to Howqua, that they had no power over Mr.

Dent's actions, he proposed, that all present should proceed to Mr. Dent's residence, which they accordingly did.

While this was going on, other foreign merchants were at the Consoo-hall, holding a verbal communication with the Kwang-chow-foo; on their quitting which, Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, was detained a prisoner for nearly two hours; nor was he liberated, until Mr. Johnston had made an application to that purpose.

When Howqua and his party had arrived at Mr. Dent's house, it was solemnly put to the foreigners present, whether Mr. Dent should proceed inside the city, without waiting for the protection of the commissioner's own chop and seal, to which the unanimous answer was in the negative; that determination was communicated to the Hong merchants; shortly after which a Weiyuen, or deputed officer, accompanied by certain Chinese magistrates, came to Mr. Dent's office, who, attended by Mr. Thom as interpreter, and the foreign merchants, received them. The representation which he made was, that

in visiting Mr. Dent, he was exceeding the instructions which had been given him, for he had been positively ordered to convey Mr. Dent before the commissioner; and by representing the danger to which he thus exposed himself, he endeavoured to work on his (Mr. Dent's) feelings, and prevail on him to accompany him.

This officer was thanked for his civility in waiting on Mr. Dent, and for the manner in which he had executed his orders; and he was further assured, that no disrespect was intended to the commissioner, by Mr. Dent's refusal, but that it arose from the general wish that Mr. Dent should not enter the city without a guarantee under the commissioner's own hand. If he should be taken by force no resistance would be offered; and after this representation, Mr. Dent retired.

The conversation continued with the foreigners and the Weiyuen, on whom Mr. Dent waited a second time at his, the Weiyuen' s request, but without any intention of repairing to the city, unless the required guarantee were first given. This officer then stated that

he would spend the night in Mr. Dent's house, and never leave it without him; on which he was assured, if he continued in that mind he should be treated most hospitably. Finding all his arts of persuasion fail, he proposed that the second partner should accompany him to the Consoo-house, and in person acquaint the Kwang-chow-foo with Mr. Dent's refusal. This was immediately agreed to, when Mr. Inglis, accompanied by four other gentlemen, proceeded to the Consoo-house. As soon as the Kwang-chow-foo became aware of Mr. Dent's refusal, he, probably fearing the ire of Lin, proposed that the deputation should proceed into the city, and in person deliver the refusal to the commissioner.

This was also agreed to, when the cortége accompanied by the linguist, proceeded through the Choo-lan gate to the temple of the Queen of Heaven, and there seated themselves in the outer court, but were shortly afterwards introduced to the private apartments of the priests, where they were served with sweetmeats and tea.

After some delay, four high officers* entered the apartment and took their places in front and close to each other, while the Kwang-chow-foo and the Weiyuen, being of inferior rank, were seated on a side bench.

Mr. Thom was now sent for, and questioned by these mandarins as to his name and country; then why Mr. Dent did not come, to which Mr. Thom gave the reasons before stated. On this they accused Mr. Dent of the greatest disrespect in not coming; in reply to which accusation they were assured nothing of the sort was intended. On which they threatened that Mr. Dent, if he still persisted in his refusal, should be dragged out of his house by force, when the high commissioner would most assuredly kill him; "that if Dent would willingly come and see the high commissioner, the trade would be reopened;" on which they asked Mr. Thom, "if their trade was not very dear to the foreigners?" His immediate reply was, "Yes, but Mr. Dent's life is dearer." On this the

* The treasurer, judge, salt commissioner, and grain inspector.

Hong merchants clapped their hands, exclaiming, "Well said." The other gentlemen were questioned much to the same purpose.

Their examination being over, the treasurer, agreeable to Chinese custom, sent out a present of four pieces of silk and two jars of wine to them, and then the deputation, guarded by a party of the Kwangkeep's troops carrying many lanthorns, was conducted back to the Consoo-hall.

Early in the morning of the 23rd, Captain Elliot's circular, which had been issued at Macao on the previous day, was received at Canton, setting forth that, in consequence of her majesty's subjects being detained against their wills, and from other urgent reasons, all confidence in the moderation of the provincial government had ceased; he therefore required all British-owned ships at the outer anchorage, to proceed to Hong Kong, and to be prepared to resist any act of aggression.

The chief superintendent, feeling it his duty to throw himself between the local government and the merchants, proceeded in

the Louisa cutter to Canton, quitting her at the fort below, on the evening of the 24th, in one of the boats of her majesty's ship Larne, to which the Chinese guard-boats gave chase, with the apparent intention of trying to capture him; in which attempt they were foiled by the Chinese porter unlocking and throwing the gates wide open, giving Captain Elliot a free entrance to the hall of the British consulate.

Directions were immediately given to hoist, on the staff before the British consulate as usual,—

> The flag that brav'd a thousand years
> The battle and the breeze;—

but as the union could not be found, the boat's ensign was substituted. A public meeting of all foreigners was by verbal notice immediately assembled, at which Captain Elliot recapitulated the reasons he had for withdrawing all confidence in the local authorities; and stated, that he would demand passports for such of her majesty's subjects as might think fit to proceed outside, within the space of ten days from the date of his

application reaching the government. He urged them all to prepare for moving their property on board the ships at Whampoa, and to forward to him sealed declarations with a statement of all claims against the Chinese, together with an estimate of all losses accruing from their present treatment. He further made it known, that should their passports be refused for more than three days, he should be driven to the conclusion that they were detained as hostages, with the view of compelling them to make unsuitable concession,—and, in fact, the event proved that such was the object; the notice ended by offering all the assistance in his power to the gentlemen of all nations at Canton.

Captain Elliot then addressed a few words to the meeting, in which he exhorted them all to unanimity and moderation. "I will," exclaimed he, "remain with you to my last gasp. Thank God, we have a British man-of-war—small indeed she is—outside, commanded by a British officer."

Both the notice and address were received with cheers, and Mr. Matheson expressed

on behalf of the meeting their best thanks, stating that from what he knew of the general feeling, all were impressed with the necessity of union and moderation.

At nine the next evening, all the native compradores and servants were ordered by the Chinese authorities to quit the factories, which was promptly obeyed; and the natives were forbidden to sell provisions of any kind to the foreigners.

A detachment of troops, accompanied by the coolies of the Chinese hongs, armed with shields, spears, and swords, occupied the square, and guarded the door of the British consulate*. The chop-boats, usually employed to carry tea, were moored in a line from the eastern to the western extremities of the factories; two tiers of smaller boats being secured between them and the shore, which were filled with armed men, while the roofs of the houses contiguous to the foreign dwellings, were converted into outposts, small

* These gallant defenders of their country, with due consideration of their own comfort, erected bamboo sheds to protect themselves from the sun.

bodies of soldiers being posted on each, and thus keeping the inhabitants of the factories close prisoners, and threatening them with starvation, by cutting off their supplies.

In the course of Monday night, the 25th, the Chinese took possession of a boat belonging to the George the Fourth merchantman, which had been hauled up high and dry in front of the creek Hong; and on Tuesday night the Hong merchants directed the pleasure-boats belonging to the British merchants to be dragged into the factory-square, and turned keels up. This wanton destruction of property was followed, on Wednesday morning, the 27th, by a notice from the chief superintendent, setting forth that he, together with all the foreigners in Canton, were forcibly detained by the provincial government, and that he was commanded by the high commissioner, under his official seals, to deliver into his, the commissioner's hands, all opium held by the people of his, Captain Elliot's, country; he, therefore, called upon all her majesty's subjects to surrender all the British-owned opium in

their possession, to be delivered over to the Chinese government, sending to him without delay sealed lists of the quantity held by each; and he, Captain Elliot, further engaged to hold himself responsible, on the behalf of the crown, for the value of the same, provided it was surrendered by six o'clock of that day.

This requisition was promptly complied with; it may, however, perhaps be matter of doubt whether Captain Elliot did not fall into error in receiving that which was consigned to American agents; as it surely ought to have been surrendered by the consul of that republic; since by those means the Americans would have had their proper share of the odium thrown on this particular traffic.

Lin now issued several edicts relative to the delivering up of the drug, and replied to Mr. King, an American merchant, who petitioned that his commercial proceedings might be allowed to go on, as he had never been directly or indirectly engaged in the opium trade, that he was aware of that circumstance,

but that Mr. King ought to have prevailed on all the other foreigners to give up their opium; which, if they would do, commerce should go on as usual, otherwise for a single individual he could not change his "great plans."

There is no doubt that Lin was much astonished at the effect of his measures, and at the enormous booty, amounting to 20,283 chests, which he was about to obtain; and that in consequence of its unexpected magnitude, he wrote to Pekin for further instructions, and proposed sending the plundered opium to the capital; for we find the emperor replying that he was satisfied of the truth of Lin's report; but that as the distance was so great, and the expense of carriage would consequently be extremely heavy, Lin should take steps for its destruction.

On Good Friday, the 29th of March, divine service was performed in the factories; and on this day the coolies were brought into the Hongs by the linguists to draw water; an office which many of the gentlemen had been under the necessity of per-

forming for themselves since the 24th instant; but on the evening of this day, the remaining pleasure-boats, which had been before spared, were hauled up into the centre of the square.

On Saturday, Lin demanded that 10,000 chests should be given up within ten days; in reply to which he was informed that exact compliance was impossible, as the whole quantity surrendered to the British government, though it should ultimately be delivered up to his excellency, was not then in the Chinese waters.

On the same day the commissioner sent a present of sheep, pigs, fowls, &c., to the British superintendent, acceptance of which was very properly declined. The Hong merchants, at the same time, sending similar supplies to the foreign residents; by some of whom they were accepted, and by others rejected.

On the 31st, the linguists took upon themselves the part of compradores, and supplied provisions, for which they of course were paid.

Lin, before he would release one of the hostages out of his clutches, became very urgent for the surrender of the 20,283 chests which Captain Elliot had stated should be given up. On Captain Elliot's applying for Mr. Johnston, the second superintendent, to be allowed to go outside to collect the vessels together, from which he might obtain the opium, Lin argued that Captain Elliot having, as it appeared, the power to compel the merchants to surrender the opium, must of course equally have the power to require them to sign orders for its surrender*; "therefore he stated that it was unnecessary that Johnston should go outside;" in fact, it was quite evident that Lin did not intend to let any of them be released until he had got possession of the drug.

On the 1st of April a notice in the English language, from Howqua, Mowqua, and the Hong merchants, was appended to the garden-gate of the British consulate,

* When opium was formerly purchased by the smugglers at Canton, they gave the purchasers orders to receive the proper quantity from the depôt-ships.

warning the foreigners not to tempt any natives to serve in their dwellings, which might be searched by the mandarins, when, if any natives were found, they would most assuredly be put to death; in which case they should consider the shedding the blood of such natives as attributable to them.

Now, really, if old Howqua could be guilty of making what we jocularly term an "April fool," one would imagine he was trying to do so with all the residents; because if legally put to death, such natives would suffer for disobeying a Chinese law; and if illegally, their blood would be most assuredly upon the heads of their unjust judges, certainly not on those of their employers.

On the 3rd, Captain Elliot announced that arrangements had been made for the delivery of the opium under certain stipulations; how well they were kept by the Chinese commissioners we will proceed to examine in our next Chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

TERMS ON OPIUM BEING DELIVERED UP.

Penalties for breach of faith—Bills dishonoured—The Bond—Meeting of Chamber of Commerce—Consuls at Consoo-hall—Servants restored——Delivery of Opium—Lin's rage—Making Observations—Trade opened—Sixteen Merchants detained—Back-doors closed—Surrender of Opium completed—Captain Elliot quits Canton—Destruction of the Opium—Description of Opium-pipe—Emperor approves Lin's measures—Transhipping Trade—Captain Elliot's Memorial to Lin—Americans sign the Bond—New Laws against Opium—Death of Lin Weihe—Captain Elliot and Merchants quit Macao—Piracy of Black Joke—Arrival of Men-of-war—Lin visits Macao—Attack on Cowloon—Bilbaino burnt—Attempt to re-open Trade—Action at Chuenpee—Reaction in Opium Trade—Confidence of Smugglers.

The colour and taste of opium are, as well as its soporifick or anodyne virtues, mere powers depending on its primary qualities, whereby it is fitted to produce different operations on different parts of our bodies.—Locke.

The arrangements to which we alluded in the close of our last Chapter consisted in his excellency the high "commissioner having stipulated that the compradores and servants

should be restored after one-fourth part of the whole quantity had been delivered, that the trade should be opened after three-fourths had been given up, and everything should proceed as usual after the delivery of the whole; the signification of which last expression the undersigned, her majesty's superintendent, professed he did not understand; that any breach of faith,—and his excellency, not unnaturally, is pleased to suppose that breach of faith may be possible,—should be visited after three days of loose performance of engagements, with the cutting off of supplies of fresh water; after three days more, with the withholding provision; and after three days more, with the last degree of severity on Captain Elliot himself." Here is a pretty distinct threat against the life of her majesty's representative. Captain Elliot made no remarks on these threats, but contented himself with urging on the community the necessity of enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the commissioner; the honour of the nation depending on the scrupulous good faith with which he fulfilled them.

and nobly did they respond to him: for it being found that in consequence of the sailing of some vessels while the discussion was pending, the whole quantity could not be made up, Messrs. Matheson, Dent, &c., came forward and purchased the required quantity, taking bills from Captain Elliot on the home government for the amount; which bills were dishonoured when presented for acceptance, and ultimately paid by Captain Elliot with part of the Canton ransom.

On the evening of Wednesday, the 3rd of April, the second superintendent, with Mr. Thom, as Chinese interpreter, attended by the Hong merchants and linguists in a chop-boat escorted by Chinese officers, proceeded to Macao to superintend the surrender of the opium from the ships at the outside anchorage.

On the 5th the following "sweet," or voluntary bond, was presented by the Hong merchants to the committee of the Chamber of Commerce, who, on receiving it, adjourned until Monday, the 8th of April. As much has been said respecting it, I have deemed

it worth while to introduce it in this place.

"A duly prepared bond, to be voluntarily given by the English superintendent, Elliot, and deputy superintendent, Johnston, at the head of the English merchants, A &c., the Indian merchants, B &c.; the Moorish merchants, C &c.; the —— — merchants D; and the ——— merchants, E; and the ———— merchants, F &c.; respecting the eternal doing away with the opium traffic.

"We do hereby pledge ourselves with and for the merchants of the English nation, and of the several countries her dependencies, residing and trading in the city of Canton, and who, cherished and saturated with the tender benevolence of the celestial court, have heaped up delightful gain to a countless extent; that whereas certain persons, avariciously bent on making profit, have of late years brought the smoking filth called opium into the Chinese waters, and there stored it up in receiving-vessels for the purpose of selling it; all which is in direct

contravention of the prohibitory laws of the celestial kingdom. The great emperor has now appointed a high officer of state to come to Canton to inquire into and manage the business, and we now begin to learn that the prohibitory laws are really severe in the extreme. Utterly unable to overcome the alarm and trepidation into which we have been thrown, we reverently deliver up to government every particle of opium on board the receiving-ships, earnestly entreating that a memorial may be sent to the great emperor, praying him, in his great mercy, to overlook our past offences.

"The empty receiving-ships shall be all sent back to their countries. Elliot and Johnston shall forthwith petition the king of their country, sternly to command all the merchants tremblingly to obey the prohibitory laws of the celestial empire, which forbid the importation of opium into China, and to leave off manufacturing the drug. Should opium be discovered on board any merchant-vessel arriving in Canton, after the autumn of this year, the said vessel and all

her cargo shall be confiscated to government, and she shall not be allowed to trade; and all the parties concerned shall, in compliance with the laws of the celestial empire, be put to death, *willingly submitting to their doom!* All vessels which, having sailed from their countries before the present rigorous prohibitions were known, and shall arrive in China during the spring and summer months, shall, immediately they arrive, deliver up all the opium they may have on board, without daring to secrete the least particle.

"We do conjointly declare that this our bond is just and true."

Of this required bond, which I am happy to say only two Englishmen were found who would sign, the Americans held the same opinion as the English, though they subsequently, for the sake of their trade, put their signatures to it. Mr. Senn van Basel, the consul for the Netherlands, having from the first refused his concurrence, has never departed from that declaration; and he quitted Canton as soon as a passage-boat was allowed to pass.

On the morning of the 6th, the back en-

trance of the creek Hong was more strongly secured by the Chinese*. Great quantities of rain fell during this month, which caused a plentiful crop of spring rice; so that this staff of Chinese existence was low in price, or great disturbances would have taken place, from the distress among the lower orders, occasioned by the entire stoppage of trade.

On Monday the 8th, the adjourned meeting assembled to take the proposed bond into consideration; when it was decided, that the chamber was purely for commercial purposes; that being prisoners in their hongs, and all trade prevented, their functions must necessarily cease until the trade was re-opened; and that with this resolution the Hong merchants should be made acquainted.

On the evening of the same day, the American and Netherlands' consuls, with the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, in compliance with a requisition from the Kwang-chow-foo, attended at the Consoo-

* This, with the back entrances of the Dutch, British, Fungtae, Powshun, Spanish, and Danish Hongs, had been blocked up on the 23rd of March.

house; there being present the above named functionary, the Poon-yu and Namhoy magistrates, and the Weiyuen, or deputed officer. In company with the consuls were Mr. King, an American merchant, and Mr. J. Fearson, as interpreter; the party being completed by the presence of the Hong merchants Howqua, Mowqua, and Samqua, with the linguists.

On the consuls and others entering the hall the Chinese officers rose, and the usual compliments were exchanged; and after the foreigners had been introduced to the Kwang-chow-foo, they seated themselves, as had been previously arranged, when business commenced, which consisted of nothing more than urging on them to give the required bond, which they steadily refused to do, without previously consulting their respective governments.

Every species of threat and persuasion was used to drive or tempt them into doing so; and the Chefoo exclaimed, "The bond! the bond! we must have the bond, and nothing but the bond!" It was all in vain; they were

staunch in abiding by their resolution, and he escaped from the dilemma by giving them until the next day to consider of their final determination, dismissing them with "Now go home and go to bed."

Thus were two men, who possessed no opium, with an utter recklessness of justice, detained prisoners in Canton; their trade as well as that of others stopped, and themselves grossly insulted by low language and false accusations, set forth in the commissioner's edict. And to what are we compelled to attribute his object? That he might state to the emperor, and circulate through China, that he had made all the foreigners tremble and humbly sue at the foot of the celestial throne.

Captain Elliot gave notice on the 14th, that he had received letters dated at Chuenpee on the 12th, that only 650 chests had been at that time delivered up, owing to a want of Chinese boats, but that an increased number had been promised. The high commissioner also directed the servants to be restored.

On the 15th, sealed tenders were advertized for a well-fitted clipper on charter for her majesty's service; the projected service not to involve a passage round the Cape. Prior to this day 7000 chests had been given up; and it was expected that the moiety would be delivered by the evening of the 18th.

There were about thirty civilians, all the Chinese officers in the river, and the creatures of the commissioner, employed at the receipt of the drug, all of whom were deeply versed in the trade; the Hong merchants and linguists being also in attendance.

So artfully arranged was the whole system, one party watching the other, that embezzlement was almost impossible; still the lower orders and troops contrived to conceal small quantities about their persons, though, when detected, they were most severely punished.

Lin, who had arrived at Chuenpee on the 10th of this month, evinced a wish to annoy the English in every way. One day he would insist on the ships being anchored in a row, like chop-boats, and was

furious when informed that neither the winds nor the waves would admit of its being done. His bile was again excited, because some of the vessels were very small, and had but little of the drug on board, insisting that larger ones should be brought to Chuenpee, threatening starvation, decapitation, &c. if his orders were not obeyed.

When the moiety was delivered, Mr. Johnston intimated that he should stop the further surrender, unless the stipulation of allowing the passage-boats to run was complied with. At this Lin expressed the utmost indignation. Was he to be coerced? And he accordingly embarked for Canton. He actually went part of the way up the river, vowing he would receive no more opium, and that he would execute the law, or rather vent his fury on the foreigners detained by him at Canton; but finding his threats of no avail, he returned, and the passage-boats were allowed again to run.

During his stay at Chuenpee, his secretary and aides-de-camp, with other intelligent men, were employed making inquiries, and

noting down the answers on every branch of policy and trade, and especially as to what might be the consequence of his present measure; and what compensation would be most agreeable to the owners of the opium. They very particularly inquired whether Russia and England were not at war, and seemed much astonished to learn that they were in profound peace. These observations were daily presented to the commissioner, who had formed a thick volume by the time he returned to Canton.

On the 4th of May the superintendent gave notice, that it was his purpose to remain in Canton, until his public obligations to the Chinese government were fulfilled. On the same day the Hong merchants informed the chairman of the commercial chamber, that directions for the opening of the trade had been given; but so late in the day was this information conveyed, that the merchants could not avail themselves of it until Monday, the 6th, and then only in a very limited manner, not being allowed to visit the Hongs to superintend the purchase of their goods.

Permission was also given for the licensed boats to run, subject to being searched at the military stations; and notice was given that a Weiyuen would attend when each vessel left the factories, to ascertain who were her passengers.

At this time sixteen of the merchants were still detained at Canton, charged with being concerned in the opium dealing; and among these sixteen gentlemen there were several individuals who had never been engaged in that or any other contraband trade.

At noon of the 5th the armed guard and coolies were dismissed, who appeared not a little pleased at escaping from their new and harassing duty.

Monday, the 6th of May, about fifty foreigners availed themselves of the licensed passage-boats, happy to get out of the clutches of the Chinese; but to prevent the escape of the proscribed, a government boat had been moored at the landing-place, the inspecting officer being accommodated with a bamboo shed on the Point. Each indivi-

dual who embarked had to answer to his name, as it was called, and to submit to the examination of the officers and linguist, their trunks and baggage undergoing the same operation.

Thus did his excellency the high commissioner observe his "bigotted regard for good faith." Repeatedly had he promised that all should be forgotten when the opium was given up; yet we find him proscribing sixteen gentlemen; and after every catty of opium that was in the Chinese waters had been surrendered, issuing commands for the departure from China of one gentleman, who for some time by his directions had been under the *especial* espionage of the local authorities; and following it up two days after by an equally peremptory order to three partners of a firm, who had allowed themselves to be *robbed* of the greatest quantity of opium, together with one of their clerks, who had not been eighteen months in the country and whose only crime was bearing the name of and being nephew to the senior partner in the firm, to quit China

forthwith; and further, before they were permitted to obey this order, they were required to sign a bond "never to return to China under feigned names;" and that should they so return, that they would willingly submit to the extreme penalty of the law.

By a paper dated the 8th, the Kwang-chow-foo communicated to Captain Elliot and the American and Dutch consuls, the orders of the commissioner regarding the punishment of foreigners dealing in opium, in which he declares, that parties found to be therein concerned should be capitally executed, and their property confiscated. This, after the specimen of justice to the sixteen individuals proscribed, could never be tolerated. It would have been subjecting the lives, liberty, and property of the whole community to the power of the Hong merchants, linguists, compradores, and even coolies; while the reckless conduct of some opium speculator outside, might have involved the safety of the fair-dealing residents.

Captain Elliot in a notice, on the 11th,

pointed out "that persons remaining would be understood by the government as assenting to the reasonableness of the beforementioned law."

A proclamation of the 14th sets forth that, agreeably with directions from Lin, the back doors of all foreign factories were to be blocked up, nor were the foreigners to be allowed to use them as formerly; the square in front of the factories was to be railed round, the passages through all the streets near them to be cut off, and the walls inclosing the foreign dwellings to be made higher and stronger, with only one gate, having a military guard established thereat. The shopkeepers in old and new China-street were directed to shut up their shops, and remove within ten days, and all those who had committed the *sin of hanging up sign-boards*, with their calling in foreign characters, were required to remove them, or, to use the words of the edict, "if there are any who dare to walk in their former footsteps, most assuredly they shall catch three inches of law," and "then suffer capitally"

On the 19th of May, 1839, the superintendent by a notice, enjoined all her majesty's subjects in China, or arriving there, having control over, or serving in any British vessel bound to the port of Canton, not in any way to aid or abet in bringing the vessels to the said port, to the great danger of life, liberty, and property, until a declaration, under his own hand, stating it was safe to do so, should appear.

On the 21st of May, the surrender of the 20,283 chests of opium was completed. On the 22nd a notice from the superintendent recapitulated the one of the 19th, and referring to his previous notice, dated Macao, the 23rd of March, enjoining all her majesty's subjects to make preparations for quitting Canton before or with her majesty's establishment, which would take place immediately; and it further directed that sealed lists of claims against the Chinese should be sent in.

The superintendent's secretary gave notice on the 23rd, that Captain Elliot would leave for Whampoa at eleven o'clock the next day; and particularly requested that there

might be no general assemblage of her majesty's subjects.

On the same day, Lin and Tang directed the Hong merchants to see that the remaining ten of the sixteen proscribed merchants did speedily return to their own country; for, says the edict, "Now that the store-ships have given up the entire amount of the opium, it is not expedient that they should be allowed any longer to delay their stay in Kwang-tung, lest their old cunning should bud forth again;" but they are to give *voluntary bonds* before they are permitted to depart, similar to those demanded from the six previously mentioned.

On the 24th, the superintendent, accompanied by the British residents at Canton, quitted that place after an imprisonment of seven weeks.

Much speculation existed as to the intention of the commissioner with regard to the method of dealing with the surrendered opium; but on the 31st it was decided by the appearance of a proclamation, in which Lin states, that having made a report by

express to the emperor, of 20,283 chests of opium being surrendered by the depôt-ships, he received the following despatch from the cabinet council:—

"Lin Tsihseu and his colleagues are to assemble the civil and military officers, and destroy the opium before their eyes; thus manifesting to the natives dwelling on the sea-coast, and the foreigners of the outside nations, an awful warning. Respect this. Obey respectfully."

On the 1st of June, the high commissioner, the governor, and all the officers, civil and military, of the black-haired race of Han, proceeded to Chunhow, near the Bocca Tigris; and on the 4th, commenced operations for the destruction of 2,500,000*l.* of *forcibly-seized* British property; large trenches, lined with stone, were dug, the opium being decomposed in them by the use of quicklime, rock salt, and water, when the mixture was allowed to run into the sea.

Many doubts arose as to the sincerity of the local government, from a letter written

by the Hong merchants, regarding the arrival and anchoring of ships, in future.

Gross attempts were made to deceive the emperor, by reports from the provinces, of numbers of individuals having given up opium-smoking, and delivered up their pipes, &c., to the authorities; but the emperor was not to be deceived, for he remarked on the number of new ones*, his imperial majesty well knowing that a new pipe was of no value, whereas, an old one, like the *écume de mer*, is of great value, from the quantity of essential oil which the bowl contains. The writer of this has one in his possession,—the gift of a valued friend,—which was found in a mandarin box, when the fort of Wangtong was captured. From the characters on it being obsolete, it is supposed to be very ancient; and if the colour of the bowl is any criterion, it must be old indeed. Of this pipe, the stem is cane, perfectly black from use, is

* It was well known that many, who had never been opium-smokers, purchased pipes for the purpose of surrendering them, thereby hoping to curry favour as submissive beings.

seventeen inches long, and one inch in diameter, having a turned mouthpiece of buffalo's horn; six inches of the opposite end are encased in copper beautifully inlaid with silver. Midway on this, is a round copper socket, three inches in circumference, in which is placed the bowl, formed of fine clay handsomely chased, and resembling in shape a flattened turnip, with an incision about the size of a pin's head on the upper side; the diameter of this bowl is nearly three inches.

To complete his establishment, the smoker has a tray, about ten inches by six, made of some fancy wood, on which is placed two small lamps, generally three ivory boxes containing the drug, a silver or steel needle, six inches long, pointed at one end and barbed at the other. The smoker, assuming a recumbent position, with the head elevated, by himself, or by a servant if he can afford one to do it for him, attaches to the fine end of the needle a very small quantity of opium, and holding it to the lamps, reduces it to the proper state for inhaling; when apply-

ing it with a circular motion at the incision in the bowl, he draws the vapour through the pipe by the power of his lungs, much like the action of smoking the hookah. Two or three whiffs are all a pipe furnishes, one or two of which are sufficient for a novice; while an old stager will smoke for two or three hours without being affected.

The opium, when purchased from the importer, passes through a refining process, and frequently is mixed with some kind of conserve.

That the emperor had received a grossly false report, forwarded to him by Lin, had been long rumoured at Canton,—and probably such was the case; but that he was ultimately correctly informed, as to the forced surrender, by some of the authorities, either publicly or privately, few can doubt who are acquainted with the policy of Chinese courts; nor is it impossible, that Lin himself might have sent a secret despatch for the emperor's particular information. At all events, his approval, in the following edict, of the measures taken by Lin, at once

makes him a party to the insults and injuries heaped on the British crown, through the injury done to its subjects.

"To-day, Lin Tsihseu, &c., by a post haste despatch, has reported, respecting the management of the foreign (opium) ships and surrender of the opium. His proceedings are worthy of the highest praise.

"Lin and his coadjutors, in their searching into, and management of this business, have arranged extremely well, and it is right I should praise their zeal. I order that Lin and Tang be referred to the board of civil office, for appropriate rewards. I also order, that E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, Yeu, the comptroller of the maritime customs, and Kwan, the admiral, be referred to the said board, for becoming rewards. Respect this."

Meetings of British merchants were held at Macao, about the middle of June, for the purpose of communicating with the superintendent, as some parties were preparing to send British ships and cargoes to Whampoa; and also to ascertain from him, if there

was a likelihood of an arrangement of existing difficulties; to which Captain Elliot distinctly replied, that the entrance of British ships and goods within the Bocca Tigris, would involve the individuals in most serious difficulties; and he again warned them, "in the most emphatic manner," that, in the present state of affairs, it would be perilous "in the highest degree."

Who, indeed, could doubt this, after the treatment already experienced; for opium still continued to be carried to Hong Kong and to the east coast of China. Had the ships been once within the grasp of the commissioner, it is more than probable, that he would have reacted all his former doings, and once more imprisoned the persons and seized the property of the innocent and too-confiding merchants.

A transhipping trade, shortly after this, sprung up, which tended to destroy the unanimity that had existed between the residents; each striving to do the best for their consignees. At this time, the Americans made a splendid harvest; their ships

being employed to take up from Hong Kong, and bring down from Canton, the British cargoes, at the very *moderate* sum of twelve dollars and a half per ton: "thus they kindly accommodated" their English friends.

That the Chinese were now anxious for trade the "clear proclamation" publicly placarded at Macao, by Lew and Tseang, the sub-prefects at Kwang-chow and Macao, very clearly showed; and these gentry, who were ever ready to style their own countrymen "traitorous natives," for dealing with foreigners, did not hesitate to excite British subjects to form a connection with the Hong merchants and local government, in opposition to their own superintendent's directions.

Captain Elliot, on the 21st, in a very spirited memorial to Lin, warmly remonstrated against the act of Lew and Tseang, and thus reproached him with his want of faith:—

"Terrible, indeed, will be his imperial majesty's indignation, when he learns that the obligations into which the high commissioner entered, under his seal, to the officers of a foreign nation, were all violated."

He proceeds to recapitulate the violations, and states the reasons for the ships not entering the Bocca Tigris, "because there is no safety for a handful of defenceless men, when within the grasp of the government of Canton." This was a bitter dose to the haughty Lin.

On the 2nd of July the American merchants held a meeting to discuss the subject of signing the bond, often before alluded to, which was written in Chinese, though it had been the custom formerly to write it in English.

After some discussion with Howqua, the required bond was, on the 3rd, signed by the masters of the different American vessels, it being then written in the Chinese and English language, the former at the top of the sheet, and the latter underneath, the signatures of the masters of the ship being between the two: the signers protested to their vice-consul, that they only signed to that part which was written in English,—not to any interpretation that the Chinese words might bear.

New regulations for trade were issued, which principally related to the measuring ships in the outer and inner waters; and the Chinese wisely imagined if any difference appeared in their draughts of water, above or below bar, that they should be able to ascertain whether such ship or ships had been engaged in smuggling. The same regulations extended to placing guards and excise officers round the vessels, and about the river.

On the 10th a meeting of merchants took place to arrange a table of demurrage,—the party on whom it was ultimately to fall being left to the future decision of the English courts of law.

During this month their excellencies the commissioner, governor, and lieutenant-governor, promulgated the new and severe laws against the use of or trade in opium, the tender mercies of which will astonish our more civilized European brethren:—"It must be now apparent to all, when the awful severity of the new law is considered, that the traffic in opium must be cut off

completely and for ever, ere the son of heaven will stay his hand. As for the seller of opium, if he do not quickly forsake his vile calling, decapitation will follow conviction; for the smoker of opium, if he do not quickly renounce the habit, there will be little chance of escape from strangulation*. Persist in the vice, and die! renounce it, and live! There is no man but fears to look on death, and clings to life; tremble then at the penalty, and flee the crime!"

The mildest sentence in this code is transportation. If the code was carried out, one half of the nation would suffer death, and the other half would be sent to the cold country†. Keshen, in his memorial before alluded to,

* There are three gradations of capital punishment in China, which are thus stated by Davis: "This, with other circumstances, was noticed in a memorial by the famous Soong-Keun, or Soong-ta-jin, one of the censors, and the conductor and friend of Lord Macartney while in China. When summoned by the emperor, and asked what punishment he deserved, he answered, 'A slow and ignominious death.' When told to choose another, he said, 'beheading;' and on the third occasion he chose strangling.'"

† The term used when banished to Tartary or the Chinese Siberia.

pretty clearly admits this statement to be correct in the following cool sentence:—

"Now, in the instance of a rebellion, when we levy soldiers to exterminate the rebels, when we have "clipped their wings," and massacred their wives and children, it only amounts to a few hundred or a few thousands of people after all, and there the affair ends! But, on the other hand, as regards opium smokers, if you wish to annihilate them, let us look at the provinces of Fokien and Canton alone, where out of every ten men some seven or eight smoke opium; and I fear that even should you butcher some eighty or a hundred thousand people, yet would you be as far from effecting your object as ever!"

On the 7th of July the English were again plunged into further difficulties by the death of a Chinese at Hong Kong, in a squabble with some English and American sailors. The high commissioner required that the supposed murderer should be given up to be dealt with agreeably to the barbarous and absurd law of China, which requires life for life, if the homicide be a foreigner.

This demand Captain Elliot as positively refused to comply with; for after a most careful and strict investigation, he was unable to fix such charge of murder on any British subject, and his positive instructions from home were, not in any case to give up a British subject to be dealt with by any Chinese authorities; and when the murder of the poor gunner of the Lady Hughes* is remem-

* The facts were simply these. In 1784, in firing a salute, three Chinese in a chop-boat alongside the Lady Hughes country ship were badly injured, one of whom died next day. Mr. Smith, the supercargo of the ship, having been decoyed within the city, "a linguist soon arrived at the factory, bringing a letter from Mr. Smith to the captain of his ship, desiring he would send up the gunner, or some other person, to be tried by the mandarins; and this was forwarded on the 29th to Whampoa, backed by a letter from the council. On the 30th, the unfortunate gunner, an old man, was brought to Canton, and sent into the city, with an address, 'signed by the English council, and the representatives of the foreign nations,' in his favour.

"He was received by a mandarin of superior rank, who *verbally* stated that no apprehensions need be entertained as to his life, and that when the emperor's answer had been obtained, he should be restored. In about an hour after, Mr. Smith returned to his factory, stating that he had been very civilly treated. On the 8th of

bered, with many other cases equally cruel and deceptive, no one can be astonished at such an order.

The superintendent subsequently promised that further exertion should be made to discover the guilty party, and that should he be found, he would be tried according to the laws of his own country, in presence of "the honourable Chinese officers." But to a cunning attempt which they made to get Captain Elliot to admit that the body of a drowned seaman found at Hong Kong, was that of the homicide, with the view of establishing their right to have executed the culprit, if he had not committed suicide, the superintendent replied he could not say that the corpse was that of the individual concerned in the death of Lin Weihe.

Lin finding her majesty's officer would not yield obedience to his cruel injustice, marched troops on Macao, directing the Portuguese government to drive the English away; and on the 15th of August, all native servants

January following, the unhappy gunner was strangled." —DAVIS's *China*.

were again commanded to quit their masters; and the resident Chinese of Macao were forbidden to sell provisions.

These proclamations were placarded on boards and paraded about the streets of Macao by the police, who, beating gongs at the same time, announced the will of the government in this new and novel way. Most of the English families were supplied with provisions through the Portuguese servants, and even they had great difficulty in obtaining them; the price of all commodities being unusually high, which occasioned great suffering to the lower orders of Portuguese and natives.

Captain Elliot, not wishing to bring any further hardships on the Portuguese community, gave notice that he should quit for some of the vessels at Hong Kong on the 23rd, and withdrew on that day with his family.

About ten o'clock at night, on the 24th of August, the Black Joke, a small English schooner, proceeding from Macao to Hong Kong, with a Mr. Moss and his property,

was, while at anchor under the south end of the Island of Lantoa, attacked in a most piratical and murderous manner by several Chinese boats. Mr. Moss was most cruelly cut and hacked about his person: his left ear was cut off and forced into his mouth, and an attempt was made to push it down his throat; five of the lascar crew were murdered. The tindal* of the boat saved himself by jumping overboard and hanging on the rudder chains; while they speared and threw overboard another, who nevertheless succeeded in swimming to the land. They then plundered the vessel and attempted to set her on fire, when the Harriet opportunely heaving in sight, these miscreants forsook their prey, making sail towards the Bocca Tigris. In their hurry to escape they left a mandarin's cap and knife behind them. Mr. Hall, of the Harriet, taking the Black Joke in tow, proceeded with her to the Typa.

The leader of this piratical band of assas-

* The tindal is the cockswain or lascar master of a boat.

sins, Wang-chung, a naval officer, was shortly after this dastardly attack, rewarded and promoted by the high commissioner. Thus are the foulest deeds rewarded by the Chinese authorities; and the emperor some time afterwards evinced his approval by directing that this Wang-chung should be promoted to the rank of Toosze, and ordered his actions to be held up to the imperial navy as worthy of imitation.

On the 25th of August, the Chinese local authorities informed the governor of Macao, that they intended to surround the dwellings of the British with troops; thus re-acting their former Canton violence at Macao; the governor of which place, though most anxious to afford all the aid in his power, candidly admitted his inability to give them any efficient protection.

The English, therefore, not wishing to compromise their Portuguese friends with the Chinese, and feeling in the absence of all vessels of war, that they were wholly unprotected, determined to embark on board the vessels at anchor in Hong Kong bay and in

the Typa; thus voluntarily leaving Macao, rather than trust to the tender mercies of the Chinese.

Great were the inconveniences and privations they had to go through. Mothers with their children, merchants with their whole establishments, crowded on board deep laden merchant-vessels; while delicate females in the last stage of pregnancy were hurried off on the decks of small vessels. Could the high commissioner have effected it, he would have deprived them of all the commonest necessaries of life.

Will any one now be found to call this merely an *opium* war? It is surely impossible they should do so. And we may further add, as if all before-enacted injuries and insults were not sufficient, that Lin and the "infamous Tang," on the last day of August, gave orders to the local officers, civil and military, "by land and by water, faithfully to intercept, and wholly to cut off, from the English, all supplies, that they may be made to fear and to pay the tribute of *fealty*." He then commands the "gentry and elders,

shopkeepers and inhabitants of the outer villages," to purchase arms; and if they attempt to land, to fire upon them, or make them prisoners; and "thereby stop their power to drink, even when they land to get water from the springs." But they were not to presume to go off to any of the vessels.

On the 30th, her majesty's ship Volage, Captain H. Smith, arrived from India, and was followed a few days afterwards by her majesty's ship Hyacinth, Commander Warren.

The arrival of the vessels added much to the spirit of the British community, who now felt they had a certain protection from Lin's barbarity. These vessels, as they arrived, joined the fleet at Hong Kong, where provisions *could* be procured, though at very high prices and only in small quantities.

Lin and Tang, who for some time had been residing at Heang-shan, determined on the 3rd of this month, to honour Macao with their presence; early on which day a long procession was seen moving from Tseen-

shan towards the city. The Portuguese troops, accompanied by the band, proceeded to the barrier to receive their excellencies, who entered that gate about eight o'clock, and proceeded to the temple of Leenfung, where they were met by the procurador with a deputation of magistrates of Macao.

The procession consisted of a Chinese officer on horseback, followed by the gong and banner-bearers; next to which was a detachment of Chinese troops, immediately in advance of the high commissioner's sedan, which was carried by eight Chinese and attended by a Portuguese guard of honour. Then came a second detachment of native troops preceding governor Tang's chair, the rear of the procession being formed by a detachment of soldiers. The whole party amounted to about two hundred individuals. By the variety of their banners and uniforms the military part of the procession was evidently from different regiments; their weapons were as various as their accoutrements, consisting of bows, arrows, spears, matchlocks, and blunderbusses; and yet these

"celestials" cut but a sorry figure compared with the smart Portuguese troops.

After their excellencies had partaken of refreshments, the procession again set forward, making a circuit through the city, where the Chinese inhabitants had erected several triumphal arches, ornamented with festoons and highly laudatory scrawls; and as the chairs of these dignitaries approached the doors of their houses, they set out tables ornamented with vases of flowers, thus manifesting "their profound gratitude for his coming to save them from a deadly vice," as was observed by an old and confirmed opium-smoker.

The shipping at Hong Kong being much distressed for supplies in consequence of the increased vigilance of the mandarins at Cowloon, it was decided to attack their position, which was carried into effect on the 4th, with the Louisa cutter and the boats of the Volage and merchant-ships.

After a smart engagement but little was effected, though several Chinese were killed; and many were wounded on both sides. This drew forth a violent edict from Lin,

directing the celestial forces to make an exterminating attack on the barbarians, and place Elliot's life in his hands."

On the evening of the 11th, four or five war-junks and several other small craft anchored near the Spanish brig Bilbaino, then lying in the Typa; but no suspicion was created in the minds of her crew by the circumstance. A little after three in the morning of the 12th, a large fire-raft was sent by them against the Spaniard, but by the exertions of her crew it was avoided. This being perceived by the crews of the junks, they immediately attacked her, boarding with between two or three hundred men, and setting fire to her in all directions; hauling down the Spanish flag which the mate had hoisted, and to which he had particularly called their attention, in doing which he was cruelly wounded and beaten with bamboos.

The crew of the brig jumped overboard, but were, with the exception of three, picked up and landed. The mate and a

Súlú lad were kept prisoners, and as soon as the destruction of the vessel was certain were conveyed to Chunhow, at which place the Chinese high commissioner Lin was residing, to whose residence they were led in triumphal procession; banners being displayed, music playing, and themselves guarded as prisoners by foot and horse-soldiers. When they arrived, they were immediately heavily ironed and forced on their knees: while in that position they underwent a lengthened examination with a view of leading them to confess that the Bilbaino was an English vessel, which they of course had stoutly denied.

During thirteen days these examinations were constantly renewed; sometimes a drawn sword was held over the mate's head, and instant decapitation threatened if he did not confess the fact to be as they wished to establish it. At other times they examined them separately, showing them a large box of dollars, affirming that the other prisoner had confessed that the ship in question was an English vessel, and had already proceeded to

Macao with a similar box; and that the individual, who was then under examination, should have the same on making a similar confession. However, all their artful attempts proved to be in vain; and after twenty-five days of cruel treatment these two poor fellows were sent to Canton, and at that place were kept close prisoners for nearly six months; neither were they liberated until a strong memorial on the subject was dispatched from a Spanish naval officer, who arrived from Manilla for the purpose.

There is no doubt but this vessel was supposed by the Chinese to be the Tan-sze-no, *alias* Virginia, one of the opium-ships that had been at Chuenpee at the time of the surrender of the opium, but which vessel had left the Chinese waters some months. The principle actor in this piratical proceeding was Wang-chung, notorious for his attack upon the Black Joke.

After this proceeding, the senate of Macao directed an armed vessel to cruise about the Typa and anchorage, to prevent any such fatal mistake occurring in future.

Negotiations were now going on for the re-opening of the trade outside the Bocca Tigris, and the Hong merchants were at Macao making the necessary arrangements.

Four propositions were forwarded in the name of the commissioner relative to this arrangement, to which Captain Elliot replied; and it was finally agreed, as appeared by Captain Elliot's notice on the 20th of October, that the trade should be carried on at the anchorage between Anunghoy and Chuenpee; the vessels to be subject to be searched, and to pay the same duties as if proceeding to Whampoa; but no bond was to be given regarding opium.

The Hong merchants had returned to Canton, the British families were returning to Macao, and everything promised a temporary lull. But this was shortly ended by Lin making a sudden demand to have the bond signed, and the murderer of Lin Weihe given up.

To what do we attribute this sudden vacillation of conduct? To the ship Thomas Coutts, Warner, entering the Bogue in oppo-

sition to her majesty's superintendent's notice, and the required bond being signed by her master. Lin now indulged the hope that all the other ships would follow her example: at all events he had hostages in his possession by whom he might hope to coerce us; and Kwan, the admiral, had also assured him that he would destroy the English corvettes which were in the river.

In consequence of these peremptory demands of Lin, Captain Elliot, on the 20th of October, issued a notice requiring all British ships to remove to the anchorage in Toong-koo Bay, that at Hong Kong being liable to the attacks of fire-ships; at the same time he addressed a letter to Captain Smith, of H.M.S. Volage, stating the violation by the imperial high commissioner of the late treaty, which Captain Elliot mainly attributed to the entry of a British vessel within the Bocca Tigris. He therefore called upon Captain Smith to use such methods as he thought best, to prevent British vessels from placing themselves within the grasp of the Chinese authorities. Upon the receipt of

that requisition, Captain Smith issued a notice reiterating the orders of the British superintendent. Immediately upon this violation of treaty, Lin issued orders for the delivery up for trial of "five men detained by Elliot*;" supplies were *again* stopped, and the native servants once more commanded to quit their employers, and the Portuguese again directed to drive them out of Macao; and if the cargo ships did not give the bond demanded within three days, they were to go away; failing to do which, it was declared they would be destroyed by fire; and the Chinese immediately commenced constructing fire-ships for the purpose.

On the 2nd of November, the Volage and Hyacinth anchored off Chuenpee, her majesty's superintendent being on board the Volage, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, interpreter to her Britannic majesty's establishment in China. Captain Smith, in his capacity of senior naval officer, sent a letter

* This alludes to five men that had been detained during the inquiry made by Captain Elliot relative to the death of Lin Weihe.

on board the Chinese admiral's junk, with an inclosure for the high commissioner, requiring him to withdraw his orders for the destruction of the English vessels by fire; and also, that British subjects should be allowed to reside in Macao, unmolested by the Chinese authorities, pending instructions from the British government. This letter was taken on board the admiral's junk by a lieutenant of the Volage, who was politely received by Admiral Kwan, and an answer promised on the morrow.

In the evening, a Chinese linguist, accompanied by a pilot, visited the Volage, and stated that they had come from Canton, that a proper chop in reply to Captain Smith's, was on board the admiral's junk, and they expressed a wish that Mr. Morrison would go and fetch it.

This was of course refused. When they retired, promising to return with it immediately, but did not do so until the next morning, when the same parties arrived in a large boat; but contrary to their usual custom, got into a small one to go alongside the

Volage, when they stated the chop was in the large boat, and requested it might be sent for. This was again declined; when, finding all their persuasions failed to obtain their object, they returned and brought it themselves. When, what do you imagine it turned out to be? It was Captain Smith's identical despatch returned *apparently* as it had been sent.

The Chinese fleet were now observed to be weighing, and standing towards her majesty's ships, which were quickly got under weigh, and prepared for action. Though the movements of the Chinese evidently indicated mischief, still Captains Smith and Elliot were adverse to inflicting on the poor crews of the junks the severe chastisement which they must have suffered, if the ships' broadsides had been opened upon them.

Therefore the messengers were again dispatched with the original letter, and a peremptory requisition sent to the admiral to return to his usual anchorage. To this he at once replied, that no terms could be entertained until the homicide should be delivered

over to the Chinese, to be dealt with accord- to their laws.

The junks to the number of sixteen, stood on, and soon anchored in a line from Chuen-pee point stretching to the southward, while an outer line was formed of thirteen fire vessels, each having a black flag flying. It was then thought necessary to attack them; and an action ensued, which is thus described by an officer of the Volage:—

"The first vessel to receive our fire was one of their fire-rafts; we threw a few shot upon her in passing, and in a few seconds observed her to settle in the water, and almost immediately go down. One of the war-junks was now on the beam of the Volage, and fired a couple of guns at her, which passed over. These were immediately returned, several of the shot telling on the junk; and almost instantly we heard an explosion, and on looking round saw through the envelope of the smoke the fragments of the unfortunate junk floating as it were in the air. She had blown up. When the smoke cleared somewhat off, out of whatever

number she might have had on board, we could see but three about the wreck. When blown up she was not distant from the Volage more than fifty yards. Pieces of the wreck fell on board, and the cover of the pinnace was set on fire. A boat was sent to save what offered on the wreck, but was fired at by the Chinese, and returned.

"The Hyacinth came in astern of the Volage, passed her, and got among the denser part of the junks; and an awful warning they must have had from a vessel of her force! The firing was now indiscriminate upon any vessel where the guns would tell, and the admiral got his full share; more particularly from the Hyacinth, she being further to the northward and nearer to him. Vast destruction of life not being so much the object as a wholesome chastisement, the Volage kept more to the southward, to prevent the junks escaping in that direction and drive them back to the anchorage, to which, in the morning, they had declined to go; but towards which, by this time, they were all too glad to get by every means in their power.

"The first shot or two was the signal to many of them to be off, but the admiral and a few others kept their station longer, firing with more spirit than we had been generally led to expect. Their guns and powder must have been good, from the distance they carried; but not being fitted for elevation or depression, all their shot were too high to have any effect, except on the spars and rigging. The Volage got some shot through her sails; and the Hyacinth was a good deal cut up in her rigging and spars; a 12-pound shot lodged in her mizen-mast, and one went through her main-yard, requiring it to be secured. Their wretched gunnery hurt no one. The firing commenced about twelve, and at one they were all sunk, dispersed, or flying. About one, the Hyacinth was ranging up alongside the admiral, and would soon have sunk him; the chastisement was already severe, and she was recalled. The result of the whole was three junks sunk, one blown up, many deserted, and the rest flying."

When all the insults and injuries which had for the last six months been heaped on

the English are considered, none will be found to regret the punishment which Captain Smith thus thought it necessary to inflict;—a punishment which would have been more severe, had not the kindness of Captain Elliot's disposition led him to request Captain Smith, after a short time, to spare the poor Chinese; in consequence of which the signal was made to the Hyacinth to discontinue the engagement, at the moment when she would have sent the admiral's junk to the bottom.

The Royal Saxon, an English merchant ship, imitating the conduct of the Thomas Coutts, just previous to the engagement attempted to enter the Bocca Tigris, but a shot fired across her bows from the Volage, caused her to drop her anchor. She subsequently proceeded to Whampoa.

On Lin's hearing of the engagement, he became frantic with rage, and penned a memorial to the emperor, praying for his dismissal; but on further consideration, finding that a detail of the transaction would not redound to the honour of the celestial empire, or "keep his celestial majesty's face

clean," and that it would criminate a number of the imperial officers, he destroyed his despatches, substituting for it a flaming gazette, in which, Kwan is described as a perfect hero. The following extract will speak for itself.

The British corvettes are designated as mere boats,—*sanpans*, viz., *three planks*—that earnestly begged to enter the Bocca Tigris, "but their prayers not having been granted, they attempted to steal through the *Tiger's Gate.*"

"The admiral, wan, then fired, and killed several of their crew. Now," continues the report, "they ought to have fled for their lives; but, instead, they dared to return the fire, which was like beating an egg upon the stones! and they were, in consequence, destroyed by the admiral's fire. The admiral was sitting in his cabin, when he was wounded by a splinter, in the face; and several of the soldiers, losing their footing, fell into the sea, and four of them were drowned. The admiral immediately shifted his flag, and stood by the mast,

cheering on his crew with the most perfect composure, to battle, undaunted at the heavy labour; he, indeed, displayed the terror of his name, and again discharged a broadside, which killed several tens of the English barbarians. After this, they will never be allowed to peep clandestinely about the *Tiger's mouth.*"

This flaming report gained for Kwan,—who really was a brave old fellow,—a mighty warlike Tartar title, Fa-hae-long-oh Pa-too-loo; his senior adc. being summoned to Pekin, to receive the patent of this title from the hands of the emperor, to be conveyed to Kwan, who was himself too valuable to be spared from his post, at that crisis.

Some time afterwards, a true statement was sent to Pekin, but which the emperor professed not to believe, though he evidently had some doubt of the truth of Lin's report; for he removed him from the most honourable and lucrative government in the empire, to one four degrees lower. That he was highly displeased with all the proceedings taking place, may be inferred from the fact that

Tang was also reduced to the lowest of the governments,—Hotaou Tsung, or governor of the rivers. Probably his known riches had assisted in this appointment, the banks of the Yellow River requiring great repair. By this means, Tang would undergo a system of gentle squeezing, which he himself had been practising on his countrymen at Canton. Lin's wings were also much clipped; while, at the same time, an opportunity was left him of carrying out the improvements and plans he had so often suggested to the emperor.

On the 26th of November, a proclamation was issued by Lin and Tang, professing to cut off the trade of the English for ever, since they would not execute the required bond; at the same time making exceptions in favour of the Thomas Coutts, and Royal Saxon; thus, if proof was wanting, at once shewing the bad effect on the general trade, from the masters of two ships having signed the bond and entered the Bogue.

The month of December passed without anything of peculiar interest transpiring.

Thus nearly ten months had expired since Lin entered Canton with the declared intention of immediately suppressing the traffic in opium, and placing legal trade on a more secure footing. Had he done so? No. That he had driven the opium trade from Whampoa, is true; but he had extended it along the whole coast of China, where above twenty vessels, ships, brigs, and schooners, were now employed; sometimes fighting with, but mostly bribing the authorities.

Opium, which had previously to and after the seizure of the 20,283 chests, and the other vigorous measures of the commissioner, fallen to about 150 or 200 dollars per chest, was now selling readily at 800, 900, and even 1,000 dollars per chest, realising enormous fortunes for those who had foreseen this reaction, and had brought up quantities of the drug at the above very low price.

The greatest reliance was placed by the Chinese dealers in the honour of the masters of the clippers. Frequently, when pressed

by the guard-boats, they would leave quantities of their silver on board, until some future opportunity offered of their getting the opium.

A gentleman informed me that on one of his voyages along the coast, he had above 50,000 dollars in bags left on board his vessel for better than five months, without even knowing to whom they belonged; the boat that brought them having come alongside late at night and put them on board.

The way in which the Chinese prove their ownership to dollars thus left is curious and simple: in each bag is deposited a wooden tally, notched in some peculiar manner. When the owner comes to reclaim his money or opium, he produces a duplicate one, or rather, one that fits exactly into the one in the bag, and by this dumb evidence, at once substantiates his right.

When we were in the outer anchorage at Chusan, we had frequent applications made to us for opium. On one occasion the cruiser had a bag of dollars thrown on board her at night, a boat coming with an opium order

next day; and Fokie could be hardly convinced that he had mistaken the vessel.

My readers must pardon the length of these chapters, for I could not easily shorten them, and yet accomplish what I was desirous of doing; *i.e.*, put them in possession of the main points and consequences which are based on, or have arisen out of the opium question: much more might have been said, and in much more energetic language than I have been able to make use of.

To Mr. Slade's Narrative of the late events in China, I am for the foregoing facts principally indebted; and to whose work I must refer the reader for any further information, and for the memorials, edicts, and notices at length, from which the foregoing extracts have been made.

Before I quit this subject, I must once more beg my readers not to allow their feelings to be carried away by any highly wrought descriptions of the miserable state of the opium smoker, which may be brought forward in other works, without, at the same time, remembering that any sensual indulg-

ence may, by the power of language, be made to appear equally injurious.

May not the bloated, nervous, debilitated drunkard, with an insatiate thirst craving for more, utterly incapable of reason for the major part of his life, liable to commit almost any crime, while under the influence of his potation, be fairly placed in opposition to the emaciated opium-smoker, whose imbecility lasts but for a short time, during which he is harmless and inert?

Can it then be said that the dealer in opium, or the grower of the poppy, panders more to the depravity or vices of mankind, than the brewer or distiller,—the farmer, or the horticulturist.

Coercive measures will never stop the evil in China: it must be a well-matured, moral conviction which can alone effect that object; and that such conviction will ultimately take place we cannot doubt. May we not hope that the present war is the means by which Christianity is to be introduced into China, —a portion of the globe inhabited by one-third of the family of mankind, who are at present buried in utter heathen darkness.

CHAPTER V.

Imperial Edict—Release of Mr. Gribble—Lin purchases the Cambridge—Hyacinth enters the inner harbour—Lin ceases to be Commissioner—Petticoat Interest—Attempt to fire the Ships—Death of the Empress—Mourning.—Tsang-wang-yen's Memorial—Lin's double swords—Arrival of Her Majesty's Ship Druid—Mandarin Chairs.—Attack on the Hellas—Death of Lord J. Churchill—Second attempt to burn the Ships—Arrival of Expedition.—Blockade declared—Scale of Rewards—Arrival of Cape Squadron—Method of claiming rewards—Ock-sue Islands—Formosa—Black Island—Buffalo's Nose—Fishing-boats—Want of Interpreter—Pirates escape—Boats' Sails—Chusan Harbour—Compradore seized—Blonde at Amoy—Ning-po under Blockade—Elephant's Trunk—Process of making Salt—Difference of Rank.

The great king of kings
Hath in the table of his law commanded
That thou shalt do no murder. Wilt thou then
Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's?—SHAKSPEARE.

SUCH was the position of affairs at the commencement of the new year 1840, the occurrences of which I will attempt to bring up to the time of the arrival of the Modeste at Macao, where Captain Elliot and many of the British were again residing.

On the 5th of January, Lin and the authorities promulgated an edict, containing an imperial rescript, upbraiding the English with their undutiful behaviour in firing upon, and killing the imperial subjects at Cowloon and Chuenpee.

The emperor therein declares, that if they should now be willing to sign the bond alluded to in our preceding Chapter, they are not to be allowed to do so, their conduct being like that of the unfilial *Che* bird, which attacks and tries to destroy its mother as soon as it is hatched, rendering them, the English, no longer deserving of the imperial clemency. Therefore Lin is commanded to put a stop to their trade, and drive their vessels out of the celestial waters. At the same time he invites other foreign nations to continue their trade; but warns them, under pain of the heaviest punishment, not to give shelter or protection to the English barbarians.

Captain Smith, on the 8th of the month, gave notice that, in consequence of the formal demands made by her majesty's super-

intendent to the Chinese government for the release of Mr. Gribble not being attended to, he should, agreeably to a requisition from that officer, establish a blockade of the port and river of Canton on the 15th day of the month. This, no doubt, had the desired effect on Lin, for on the 14th Mr. Gribble was released from his confinement, and on the 17th delivered on board the Volage.

Lin gave permission about the 25th, for British manfuctures, the *property of Americans*, to be imported in American ships; which, in fact, was nullified by the Hoppo stating in an edict, that the Americans were not to carry away more cargo than they can purchase with their imported dollars, which were to be weighed at the Custom-house, and then sent to the Hong merchants.

On the 31st of January, Yuh, a Taou-tae, arrived at Macao, having secret instructions from the commissioner. February 1st, Lin appeared to imagine that he could put the Chinese navy on a footing with, and equal to oppose the British fleet; for, throwing off his old prejudice of adhering to Chinese customs,

he purchased from the Americans the Cambridge, a worn-out Indiaman of 1,200 tons burthen, then under the American flag. She was to be fitted as a frigate; and it will be found she made more noise at the first bar in 1841, than anything else, as will be explained hereafter. He also was in treaty for the purchase of three Danish ships; but not being able to come to terms with the owners, he, being an adept at spoliation and plunder, issued an edict confiscating them,—the one for having an English name on her stern, and the other because she had been, and might be still, British property.

An edict was also published from Lin and Tang, but dated the 1st of January, directing that no foreign ship should be allowed to export more tea or rhubarb than was requisite for the consumption of their own countries; thus *wisely* surmising that the English would not then be supplied by them;—an axiom which no doubt will be quite true, when he is able to discover the actual consumption of the whole world.

The purpose of Yuh's visit now appeared

from an edict which he issued, stating that he had come with a number of troops for the express purpose of seizing Captain Elliot and four British subjects, who, in defiance of the commissioner's commands, had returned to Macao. A number of Chinese soldiers had been observed about the town, and several war-junks had been hauled into the inner harbour, but no suspicion had been excited by these movements.

On February the 5th, the spring tides being at their greatest height, the Hyacinth, 18, Captain Warren, was directed by Captain Smith, in consequence of the threats held out by the edict before alluded to, to enter the inner harbour for the better protection of her majesty's subjects on shore. This proceeding gave great umbrage to the Portuguese governor, who remonstrated against the ship having been brought, or remaining there, it being contrary to the port regulations, for a foreign man-of-war to enter that anchorage. He was assured by Captain Warren, that no slight or insult was intended to the Portuguese nation, but that

his ship could not be removed unless he, the governor, guaranteed the safety of the British residents.

The next day the Hyacinth returned to her usual anchorage, the governor declaring that the Chinese troops had been prevailed upon to leave the town, and those which were marching on it had retired, and that the English should not be interfered with. This demonstration had a most tranquillizing and salutary effect; and for some time afterwards the British residents in Macao remained free from threats or annoyances from the Chinese.

On the 6th, Lin, in obedience to orders received from Pekin, divested himself of the imperial seal, sinking simply into the viceroy of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se provinces. The notorious Tang was also ordered to Pekin, where it was supposed his various delinquencies had been privately reported; but his party had sufficient interest at court to smother inquiry, for on the 16th he returned to Canton, being appointed to the government of Fokien. Most of the intrigues

about the court are managed by the ladies and eunuchs; and the mandarin, who has by timely presents secured *good petticoat* interest, may do pretty nearly what he likes without fearing any very rigid inquiry. But where is it otherwise?

Lin also, about this time, relinquished his pretensions to the three Danish vessels confiscated by him on the 1st of the month; nor was he then willing to purchase them for the government at any price.

An edict of Lin's, dated the 5th, was published at Macao on the 20th, wherein he threatens to stop all trade with that place, and to prevent all supplies of provisions from entering the city, if the Portuguese still continued to harbour or shelter the English. Many respectable Chinese families left the town, fearing this edict would be acted upon; and frequent robberies and assaults were committed by the Chinese, in the streets and neighbourhood of that place.

On the 28th and 29th, attempts were made to set fire to the fleet of merchant vessels at Toong-koo, but they were foiled by

the good look out which was kept on board those vessels. On the 3rd of March the Taou-tae Yih warned the people not to be alarmed at reports, spread by idle vagabonds to answer their own purposes. He informed them that *he* was incorruptible, affixing, at the same time, a board over his office, on which he had expressed his desire that his posterity might be cut off, should he ever acquire money by unlawful means.

On the 6th, the procurador of Macao, having addressed the Kangshan magistrate on the subject of the number of thieves and vagabonds in the neighbourhood, received an assurance that measures had been taken to search out, and punish them with the utmost rigour of the law. An edict was also published from the governor and hoppo of Canton, announcing that the trade was to be re-opened between that place and Macao.

News was also received, that the reigning empress of China had expired on the 16th of February. This information was announced by edicts written with blue ink,—the mourning colour in China. The govern-

ment officers were directed to observe the customary mourning, which requires them to go a hundred days without shaving the head, and to remove from their caps their balls or buttons, with the crimson silk tassel that falls over its crown. The mourning colour is white, dull grey, or ash; and persons wearing these colours will be easily known to be in mourning, by having glass or crystal buttons on their dresses, instead of the usual gilt or golden ones. Every Chinaman has five buttons down the loose and comfortable jacket he wears.

A long and most extraordinary memorial appeared on the 7th, from Tsang-wang-yen, a man honoured by the friendship of his celestial majesty Taoukwang, *i. e.* "the glory of reason*," enjoying, it is said, the most familiar converse with the "brother of the sun and moon." We have a perfect right, therefore, to take for granted, that the emperor had

* Each emperor of China, on assuming the *yellow*, selects some special appellation. The reigning sovereign selected for himself, "The glory or effulgence of reason."

previously approved of his wild and visionary schemes.'

This Tsang-wang-yen is a native of the district of Heang-shan*, and, from the locality in which he was brought up, must know something of foreigners; but this memorial is another proof—if proofs are wanting in addition to that of Keshen's and others—of the heathen and Egyptian darkness which envelopes the minds of the learned, educated, and talented of the Chinese race.

Tsang-wang-yen, or Tsang-moggan, as he is styled at Canton, is prefect of Shun-teen-foo, in the province of Petche-li; he is fooyin, or head of all chefoos; in fact, he is the prince of prefects.

This memorial opens with the usual Japanese maxim of exclusiveness: to stop all intercourse with other nations. "What," adds he, "these said foreigners must have to preserve their lives, and what they cannot do a single day without, are tea and rhubarb; and these, be it remembered, are the produce of our inner land. No matter what country

* Macao is situated in this district.

these ships may come from, *do not let a single* one of them hold commercial intercourse with us."

Through these measures he assumed that great embarrassment would necessarily arise from the cargoes of the ships remaining unsold; and that from their not being allowed to receive the annual supply of tea and rhubarb, their lives would be completely in the power of his imperial master, and that consequently they would be compelled to beg and sue for trade.

After recommending different plans for punishing traitorous natives and for *arming the sea-coast*, he acknowledges, from the size and strength of our ships, and the quickness with which the barbarians handle their guns, their own navy to be quite incapable of subduing them; and therefore he advises the adoption of the following wise plan, as one which must inevitably succeed. "But as the intercourse of the said foreigners is cut off, and they being but scantily supplied with necessaries, the pressure of their sufferings will not allow them to remain a

long time anchored in the outer ocean,—they must of necessity again enter our inner waters, and ramble and spy about as before. Now I would still further entice them to come in by means of our cruisers; and in the meantime I would call out and get ready several hundreds of the people living on the sea-coast,—of those who are the stoutest, the bravest, and the best swimmers and divers; I would cause them at night to divide into groups, to go diving straight on board the foreign ships, and taking the said foreigners at unawares, *massacre every individual among them.* Or, I would fit up several hundreds of fire-ships beforehand, and cause the most skilful swimmers and divers* to go on board of them; these should take advantage of the wind, and let the fire-ships go; and close in the wake of these should come our armed cruisers. But before going into action, I would proclaim to all the soldiers and people, that he or they who should be able to take a foreign ship, the entire ship and cargo should

* It will be found that this was acted upon at Canton in May, 1841.

be given them for encouragement; and this being made known, every one would be more eager than the other in pressing forward to the capture; and what stay, I ask, would these rascally foreigners have to cling to any longer? Would not their hearts, on the contrary, die within them for fear?

"Whether or not my simple view of matters may be correct, may I beg your gracious majesty to send down orders to the commissioner and viceroy and fooyuen of Kwangtung, that as opportunity offers the experiment may be made? Only let a plan be laid *for a general massacre*, and these said foreigners cannot but fear and tremble, and come to implore us.

"Whether my stupid, foolish notions may be put in force or not, I humbly pray that my august sovereign will bestow on this paper a single holy glance. A most respectful memorial."

That the emperor did bestow "a glance of approval" on it, is certain by his own words and decree to the board of war*; on

* Lin having been deprived of the imperial seals,

receiving which they forwarded it to Lin and his colleagues to act on. Thus did the emperor not only declare war against England, but against the whole civilized world.

If massacres, murders, and piracies were not carried on in the wholesale way the memorialist recommended, it was not from the forbearance of the government, but owing to a want of courage and of means to act, in the local authorities.

Lin and his coadjutors were now busy building gunboats of superior construction and size, for the purpose of putting down smuggling in the river: much tea and other exports having been secretly conveyed to Macao through some of the hundred channels which intersect the land in every direction. Small schooners were also built, to be added to the imperial navy.

March the 21st, Lin was busy drilling 3,000 troops, a third portion of which was to consist of *double-sworded men.* These twin swords, when in the scabbard, appear as one

had no longer a right to correspond direct with the emperor.

thick clumsy weapon, about two feet in length; the guard for the hand continuing straight, rather beyond the "fort" of the sword turns towards the point, forming a hook about two inches long. When in use, the thumb of each hand is passed under this hook, on which the sword hangs, until a twist of the wrist brings the gripe within the grasp of the swordsman. Clashing and beating them together and cutting the air in every direction, accompanying the action with abuse, noisy shouts and hideous grimaces, these dread heroes advance, increasing their gesticulations and distortions of visage as they approach the enemy, when they *expect* the foe to become alarmed and fly before them. Lin had great faith in the power of these men.

On the 25th, Captain Lord John Churchill, in her majesty's ship Druid, arrived from New South Wales, and took the command of the men-of-war in the river, as senior naval officer. The Chinese authorities were again becoming troublesome: the natives were forbidden to serve the foreigners as chair-bearers, and the women were prohi-

bited from attending as nurses in their families.

These chairs, being a little broader and more comfortable than the English sedan, are carried between two long elastic shafts, so formed that the ends nearly meet. The bearers bending down their bodies, place their necks between them, allowing the ends to rest on their shoulders, grasping them in front with their hands, and having the arms doubled close up to their body; then erecting themselves, the weight of the individual slightly bends the shafts. The step of the bearers is quick and short, giving a slight but easy motion to the chair, which, if belonging to a mandarin, is always painted green; but it is only the highest rank who can apply them to general use; for we find, in Ellis, when the imperial commissioners met the embassy, they were in chairs. But "Kwang's rank did not authorize him to proceed thus any further;" while Loo, the other commissioner, continued in the same conveyance*.

* The high officers have frequently as many as eight bearers, who are then differently placed.

The month of April passed over without anything of peculiar interest occurring. Lin, however, continued busily drilling his new raised levies.

Some difficulties and delays arose on the subject of securing American merchant-vessels, in consequence of which their consignees at Canton addressed a petition to Governor Lin, praying that their ships might be allowed to discharge and take in their export cargoes without delay, intelligence having been received from England and America, that a blockade of the port of Canton by the ships of the former nation would be declared at about the beginning of June.

On the 26th, an answer was returned, granting the prayer of their petition, but sharply reproving them for their folly in giving credence to such idle reports, as that the English would dare to blockade any of the ports belonging to the celestial empire, "a thing not to be thought of."

Lin, on the 16th of May, had a grand review of his new navy, which he appeared

to be fully persuaded would sweep the English from the seas. It consisted of the Cambridge, tolerably well armed with *carriage* guns; two schooners about twenty-five tons each, painted an imperial yellow and decorated with dragons; and a small boat propelled with paddle-wheels, all which ultimately fell into our possession at the capture of Canton.

An edict was issued by Lin, dated the 21st, requiring all ships arriving at Whampoa to give a bond that they had no British-owned goods on board; and that, on quitting, they would not anchor near any English vessels, but sail direct for their own country.

On the 22nd, an attack was made by several piratical junks on an English vessel, the Hellas, Jauncey, when near the Brothers Islands to the northward of Namo. After a very sharp encounter, she succeeded in beating them off; but in this gallant affair Mr. Jauncey and twenty-five of his crew were wounded.

June the 3rd, a gloom was cast over the

whole British community by the death of the Right Honourable Lord H. J. S. Churchill, captain of her majesty's ship Druid. His lordship's death was attributed by the Chinese, to the vengeance of offended heaven for his daring to enter the waters of the "middle kingdom" with hostile intentions. They were ever ready to assign the death of our high officers to the wrath or judgment of their deities. The death of the gallant and much-to-be-lamented Sir Frederick Maitland, naval commander-in-chief, which occurred at Bombay, was by them attributed to the same cause; as was also that of the intelligent and amiable Captain Lord Napier, the first British superintendent, which took place at Macao, on the 11th of October, 1834, after a sojourn of only three months in China; the whole of which had been to him a series of laborious excitement and fatigue, caused by the ill usage he received from the Canton local authorities, and when a severe chastisement of them by us might have prevented that which is now taking place. On the 5th, the remains of Lord

John were interred in the British burial-ground at Macao, all the foreign residents attending to pay the last honours due to this worthy nobleman.

On the 11th, the Chinese made another attempt, on a much larger scale than their previous ones, to burn the fleet at Cap-sing-moon; but the boats of the men-of-war quickly hooking on to these formidable looking fire-ships, towed them ashore on the Brothers, where they remained, furnishing fire-wood for the shipping. These rafts were ten in number, composed of two or three junks securely fastened together with chains, and charged with small quantities of powder; they were brought down under sail, and ignited when near the ships.

The Canton authorities, in anticipation of an attack, moored the Cambridge just above the first bar, where they had also collected a number of junks, laden with stone, to be sunk in the passage when required.

On the 21st of June, the first part of the force intended to act against the Chinese,

arrived off Macao, and consisted of the following vessels:—

Wellesley	74	Commodore, Sir J. Gordon Bremer, K.C.B., K.C.H., Commander-in-Chief. Captain, Thomas Maitland, C.B.
Conway	26	Captain, C. R. D. Bethune, C.B.
Alligator	26	Acting Captain, A. L. Kuper.
Larne	18	Commander, P. T. Blake.
Cruiser	16	Commander, H. W. Giffard.
Algerine	10	Lieutenant, T. H. Mason.
Atalanta	S. V.	Captain Rogers, India navy.
Queen	S. V.	Mr. Warden, H.E.C.S.
Madagascar	S. V.	Mr. Dicey, H.E.C.S.
Rattlesnake	T. S.	Mr. W. Brodie, Master, R.N.

Accompanied by twenty-one transports, having on board her majesty's 18th, 26th, and 49th regiments, with the native Bengal volunteers; detachments of artillery and sappers, being furnished from the Bengal and Madras presidencies.

The day after his arrival, Sir Gordon Bremer issued a notice, that a blockade of the port and river of Canton would be established on the 28th of June; and on the 22nd and 23rd the fleet proceeded to the northward, with the intention of occupying

the Island of Chusan, as a *point d'appui* for our future operations. Her majesty's ships

Druid	44	Captain, H. Smith, C.B.
Volage	26	Acting Captain, W. Warren.
Larne	18	Commander, P. T. Blake.
Hyacinth	18	Acting Commander, P. B. Stewart.
Madagascar	S. V.	Mr. Dicey, H.E.C.S.

remaining in the River Canton to enforce the blockade.

On the 27th, the provincial authorities published a graduated scale of rewards to be given for the taking or destroying English ships, whether men-of-war or merchant-vessels, or for the taking or killing British subjects of all degrees. The following is an abstract of the rewards :—

"For the capture of a ship of 80 guns, twenty thousand dollars; for smaller ones, a diminished reward of one hundred dollars for every gun under 80.

"For utterly destroying the same by fire or otherwise, ten thousand dollars. For a merchant-vessel, all her cargo—whether goods or money, excepting guns, warlike instruments, or opium—to the captors, with an

additional ten thousand for those vessels that have three masts; for those with two and a half mast (probably steamers), five thousand dollars; and for those with two masts, three thousand; for a large boat, three hundred; for a small boat, one hundred; for destroying by fire or sinking them, one-third of the above sum or sums.

"For taking alive a barbarian officer, if chief commander, five thousand dollars; five hundred to be deducted for every degree of rank lower. For the murder of the same, one-third of the before-named sum. For taking alive English barbarians, or Parsees, whether soldiers or sailors, one hundred dollars. For the murder of the same, one-fifth of the aforesaid sum. To those who seize the black imps (sepoys and lascars), a proportionate reward.

"For abandoned natives who take supplies to the barbarians, 100 dollars. For those less guilty, a proportionate reward." "Those less guilty," refers to the native compradores and servants, who, though they quitted service at the time the edicts ordered them so to do,

soon after returned to their employers; of which circumstance Lin was fully aware.

This table of rewards has to the stranger a very alarming appearance; but it was well known to the residents, that few of the natives would attempt to avail themselves of the offered bounties, as they well knew they would never see the reward, even in case of a successful capture, as the high officers would always invent some false charge of informality to warrant them in withholding it. This paper is curious as being the first of the kind ever known to have emanated from this very singular government.

Captain Elliot assured the Chinese, by proclamations in their language, which were widely circulated, that no harm was intended to the peaceable inhabitants by the present expedition; that it was caused by Lin's bad treatment of the English; and that the force would only act against the mandarins, officers, and soldiers of the government. He ended by inviting them to continue their traffic as before with the British shipping.

The day previous to the blockade com-

mencing, the American ships Panama and Kosciusko entered the Bocca Tigris.

On the 28th, the following named ships arrived from the Cape and England :—

Melville	74	Rear-admiral the Hon. G. Elliot, C.B., Commander-in-Chief and Plenipotentiary. Captain, the Hon. R. S. Dundas.
Blonde	42	Captain, Thomas Bourchier.
Pylades	16	Commander, T. V. Anson.
Enterprise*	18	S. V.

Captain Elliot, now becoming joint plenipotentiary with the admiral, embarked from Macao on board the Melville; and that ship, accompanied by her partners, with the addition of the Madagascar and four transports, on the 30th proceeded to the northward.

July 11th, the Hong, Salt, and Chinchew merchants were ordered to raise and equip, at their own expense, 5,000 troops for the defence of the province; all intercourse with the English was again prohibited, and no Chinese vessels were to be allowed to leave

* The Enterprise had come from Bengal.

any of the ports, except for the purpose of destroying the English barbarians; the destructions and murders of any of whom were represented as deserving the highest honours and rewards; but they were cautioned not to mistake other foreigners for English subjects. "To be entitled to the rewards offered, they were to produce the board with the vessel's name on it, which is usually attached to the stern of merchant-vessels, or the head of the individual killed.

These proclamations produced the worst feelings amongst the lower orders at *Canton;* and Hong coolies were obliged to be placed in the streets to guard the lives of the Americans and other foreigners remaining there.

Having thus brought the narrative of events which have led to the present war in China, up to the 12th of July, 1840, the day on which her majesty's ship Modeste arrived in the Canton River, I must beg my readers to refer to the early part of the second Chapter, where they will find that good ship contending against the north-east winds; which she did not do for so long a

period as I have been occupied in writing the three previous Chapters, for on the third day the wind became fair.

Nothing particular occurred for some days, the weather had a suspicious appearance, and all hands being young in the China seas we daily expected a typhpon; for the symptoms of these gales are so variously described in Horsburgh's *Directory*, that it required no stretch of imagination to fancy one brewing up from the appearances we observed. During great part of the passage we were in sight of land, but at too great a distance for me to attempt any distinct description of its outline.

On the 21st of July, I find in my journal Ock-sue Island, bearing N.B.W.½W., five or six miles, described as moderately high, with a long low rugged island near it, on which appeared a singular square-looking hummock, which I suppose to be the Ragged Island, as named on Wyld's map of the war in China. At daylight, on the 22nd, we had a very distant but distinct view of the north end of Formosa, of which the mountain tops were enveloped in the clouds.

Taywan, or Formosa, is a large and fertile island, situated off the south-east coast of China, separating the Chinese from the Blue Sea. The Dutch, between two and three centuries ago, had a factory and fort, named New Zealand, on this island, in which they were introducing the arts of civilization. But their progress was stopped, and they were driven out of it in the year 1662, by Kuo-shing, or Koshinga, the son of a rich Chinese merchant, who fitted out a fleet to oppose those who are now the rulers, but were then the invaders of his country, — the Mantchow Tartars; but being defeated by them, he turned his arms against the Dutch, and took possession of Formosa. This island has a flourishing trade with Amoy, to which it exports large quantities of grain. Its eastern side is still inhabited by the aborigines, of whom little or nothing is at present known.

Early on the 23rd, we made the Black Islands,—anything but black when we first saw them, for a brilliant sun was shining on, and giving them the appearance of our own

dear chalky cliffs. But this delusion was dispelled as the glare subsided, when they resumed their own sombre hue. The land in shore, and extending to the northward of these islands, is diversified with a number of remarkable peaks. Owing to light winds, it was eight o'clock, P.M. of the 24th, before we brought up, about six miles outside of Mouse Island, or Shoo-shan; a small spot, as its name implies, situated mid-way between the Kwesan group and Front Island.

At six o'clock the next morning, we weighed, and stood in for Buffalo's Nose, or Newpe-shan,—a remarkable island, not unlike the proboscis of the animal after which it is named. A union jack was flying on a staff erected on the highest part of this island; and as we neared it, the master of a transport, stationed at the anchorage for the purpose, boarded us, and gave us the first intelligence of the capture, on the 5th instant, of Ting-hai,—the capital and seaport of Chusan. He was also the bearer of orders prohibiting ships from entering the

harbour of Chusan without a pilot, in consequence of her majesty's ship Melville, while in tow of the Atalanta steamer, having been swept by the tide upon a sunken rock in the southern passage, where she received such damage, as would require her being hove down.

From Buffalo's Nose to Gough's Channel the main land bends into a very deep and extensive bay, into which an estuary or lock opens, affording a free egress by water to the small town of Hose-sa-kan. The bay is studded with numerous islands in the best state of terrace-cultivation from the very water's edge to the highest pinnacle. A circular one reminded me much of the famed hanging gardens of Bagdad. Most part of this bay was staked for fishing; and it required a good look out, not to injure the poor fellows' means of living.

On arriving at Tree-a-Top Island, or Wanchow-yu, the passage leads through a short strait, commonly called Gough's Channel, when it spreads out into an apparently magnificent river; the islands being so closely

situated one to the other, that while sailing between them and the main land, it is hard to divest oneself of that idea.

We were surrounded by a whole fleet of fishing-boats, and the wind being very light with a smooth sea, these merry good-tempered fellows kept way with us easily; occasionally shearing alongside and passing in handfulls of the arbutus fruit; which compliment was returned by an equal quantity of biscuit. Three much larger boats where in shore, but did not excite our suspicions. From one of the islands a boat was sculled off with a Chinaman standing up in the bows, ko-tooing and chin-chining as if his head would come off. When he got alongside he handed up a small paper, on which a number of Chinese characters were drawn, but having no one on board acquainted with the language, it could not be deciphered. From his jestures we supposed him to be offering his services as a pilot to Chusan, which were declined.

Some days afterwards, on the paper being placed before one of the interpreters, it proved to be a chop, informing us that the

three boats before spoken of were plundering the inhabitants. Thus had these three piratical vessels been under our guns without any suspicion; and who would have entertained any, with the merry faces that were around us, indicating no symptom of fear? Yet, as it subsequently proved, they had come for the protection which our appearance afforded them.

About seven o'clock, the ship got up to Keeto Point, and was quickly swept between that and Round Island, from which a vessel was indistinctly seen under the high land of Deer Island (Seaoukeu Shan). It was now growing rapidly dark, and as we had to cross a strong tide, it became to strangers sufficiently puzzling to get to our anchorage; but a blue light soon produced an answer from the vessel under the land, whose crew hoisting a light, we were enabled to steer for the Elephant's Trunk.

The tide setting us rapidly round its high bluff point, so close did we pass it, that we distinctly heard the conversation of the people on shore. Having anchored in twenty-three

fathoms, Captain Eyres proceeded with the despatches to the commander-in-chief, lying in Chusan harbour, and returned the next morning, accompanied by Mr. Sprent, master of the Wellesley, who was to pilot us in; but there being no wind, the Madagascar steamer came out and took us in tow. When we were in the centre of the passage, and close to the spot where the Melville had taken the ground, a heavy squall burst upon the ship, which, with a lee tide, was driving us, steamer and all, fast back again; however, by letting go an anchor, we were brought up.

A whole fleet of Chinese junks, availing themselves of the fair wind, went flying by us with their usual large mat-sails reduced by several reefs. These sails are in shape not unlike square-headed lugs; are composed of a number of mats, sewed together, with from six to eight bamboo battans placed at equal distances, and horizontally across the sail; the space between each constituting a reef, which is always taken in on the foot, by lowering the haulyards and rolling-up on the battan, from the extreme end of each of which are lines

so placed, as to meet at a centre to form the sheet, but yet each supporting its own battan. These are the universal sails for junks of all sizes, only differing in materials. Chinese junks and boats invariably *tack*, for the act of wearing would, from the jibbing of the sail, endanger their lightly-secured masts.

The squall over, the steamer took us once more in tow, and we soon entered the beautiful harbour of Chusan; the water of which was thickly covered by the men-of-war and transports, whose boats were pulling in every direction, employed in watering, and the various duties requisite in so numerous a fleet.

The Modeste, not having the good fortune to be present at the capture of the city of Tinghai, I shall attempt no account of the attack, referring the reader to Lord Jocelyn's very neat and concise narrative. The harbour has several entrances, through all of which the current runs with great rapidity and *eccentricity*, rendering necessary the greatest caution in entering it.

The passage first adopted by our ships, from want of local knowledge was, though the shortest, most certainly the worst and most unsafe, and as we became acquainted with the place was seldom afterwards used; the western entrance, though much more circuitous, being incomparably the best, and affording a very fair anchorage round the point on which the sappers were encamped, which Jack quickly christened "Spithead;" while another, further out, under Bell Island, was dubbed "St. Helens;" by which names I shall in future designate them.

So much of my time was occupied in attending to the various duties of the ship, as she was to form one of the squadron about to proceed to the northward, that I had but little time to make observation on the city or its environs; therefore I shall offer but few remarks on them until our return from the Imperial Sea, when a sojourn of some weeks at "Spithead" and "St. Helens" afforded ample opportunity for doing so.

The troops and shipping were badly off for fresh provisions in consequence of a

Chinese compradore, who had accompanied the expedition from Canton, having been seized on the 17th by the Chinese, and carried a prisoner to Ning-po. Repeated exertions were made for his recovery, but all proved unavailing; he had, poor fellow, fancied himself safe, when foraging the country for supplies, which, by his means, had been amply furnished previous to his captivity.

The only water we could get was of the very worst description and slightly brackish, which arose from the sluice of the canal where it was obtained, being in a defective state, and admitting its neighbour the sea. I attribute all the after-sickness which prevailed on board the squadron in the Gulf of Petche-li, to this cause and this cause only. At one time, in the Modeste, out of a crew of 130 men, half the number were on the sick-list, suffering from severe diarrhœa, both lieutenants and the master being in the number.

The admiral in his progress from Macao, had, when off Amoy on the 2nd of July, dispatched the Blonde, Captain Bourchier, into

that port for the purpose of delivering to the Chinese admiral on that station the despatch from Lord Palmerston to the Chinese ministers. About noon, the Blonde was anchored off the harbour, which was found to be strongly fortified. In about an hour a boat came alongside with a red flag flying, bearing the following inscription:—"Hea fang ting seun chuen," having on board five or six Chinese followers, *alias*, policemen, who stated that they were sent by the magistrates of the district to ascertain what the ships wanted; on being informed of her errand they stated that their admiral was at Chinchew. A statement was then read to them explaining the nature of a flag of truce, and warning them of the consequences attendant on firing on such flag. Having repeatedly signified that they understood the purport of the paper, they were sent on shore to convey it to the authorities. They promised to return immediately with an answer, and did so within an hour, accompanied by a man of a higher rank, who brought back the paper, representing "that the district

magistrates had taken a copy of it for their superior officers, but as they did not dare to hold communication with outside foreigners, they begged to return the original document. The bearer was informed that it could not be *received*, and that he *must* take it on shore again to the magistrates, which, after a little hesitation and referring to the others of the party, he consented to do.

The second lieutenant of the ship, Sir Frederick Nicholson, accompanied by Mr. Thom, the interpreter, were then sent in an *unarmed* cutter, with a flag of truce flying, to deliver Lord Palmerston's letter to the highest officer on the spot.

As the boat approached the shore it was observed that a considerable body of troops were drawn up with the apparent intention of preventing a landing; and no sooner had the boat's bow touched the beach than they advanced their weapons and rudely repulsed them, desiring them to be off and refusing to listen to them. Finding all attempts to communicate useless, Sir Frederick returned to the ship. Captain Bourchier, in the mean

time, having observed what was going on, detained a junk, and sent a letter by the master of her to the shore, to which no answer was returned.

The morning of the 3rd being calm, it was found impossible to get the frigate near the batteries until noon; at which time her anchor was let go within five hundred yards of them. The jolly-boat, pulled by four boys, was then dispatched with Mr. Thom to make a last attempt to persuade these fool-hardy men to receive Lord Palmerston's letter, but the troops were drawn up as they had been on the previous day, and a vast crowd of spectators assembled.

The boat's stern being backed in, Mr. Thom attempted to open a communication with them; not succeeding in doing so he displayed a chop, written in large characters, setting forth the peaceable intention of the ship, and blaming the conduct of the mandarins, which so enraged them that they dashed into the water and made an attempt to seize the boat; but a few strokes of the oars soon put her beyond their reach. Mr.

Thom then called to them to know if they would receive the letter; in reply to which they all roared out *no*, accompanied with much abuse.

The boat's crew immediately gave way for the ship, when a match-lock and two or three arrows were discharged at them, and struck the boat; and the whole detachment were about to follow it up with a volley, when at the instant, two of the Blonde's thirty-two pound shot went bowling into the midst of these *valiant* fellows, and "Sauve qui peut" became the cry,—the whole mass, officers, soldiers, and spectators flying for their lives, leaving five or six of their number dead upon the beach.

The Blonde's guns were now turned on the forts and war-junks, in consequence of their having opened their fire upon her, which she soon effectually and quickly silenced, riddling the former, and sinking the latter.

The cutters, *armed*, were then dispatched to stick upon the walls of the fort a proclamation, stating the provocation which had led to the firing. This object, however, was not

effected; for the Chinese opened a fire from some houses on the boats, when Captain Bourchier, not thinking it worth while to risk the lives of his men in this unimportant service, directed them to be recalled. They brought off several spears and shields left by their late foes.

The proclamation was then put into a bottle and thrown overboard, shortly after which it was picked up by a fisherman; and about 4 P.M. the ship was got under weigh, and proceeded to rejoin the admiral.

Admiral Elliot's first act, after his arrival at Chusan, was to declare a close blockade of the river and harbour of Ning-po; which was rigidly maintained during his absence to the northward, many junks being detained during that time, and sent into Chusan harbour.

Captain Bethune, of her majesty's ship Conway, opened a communication with the Chin-hai and Ning-po authorities, and having explained to them the purport of the white flag, or flag of truce, prevailed upon them to receive the copy of Lord Palmerston's

despatch, which had been refused at Amoy. The next morning they returned it, stating, that they dared not forward such a chop to the celestial presence. However, there is but little doubt that the contents of it found its way to Pekin.

None of that hostility evinced at Amoy was at any time shown at Ning-po, though they imprisoned all the "English barbarians," or "black imps," that they could get hold of.

It was thought by those acquainted with the Chinese, that much had been gained; since their authorities, for the first time during our intercourse with China, at this period substituted the term "honourable nation," for the usual phrase "barbarians."

Her majesty's ships the Conway and Algerine, with Young Hebe and Kite, armed transports, were dispatched to examine and survey the Yan-tse-Kiang; the Alligator, with steamers, being employed to enforce the blockade of Ning-po.

The Blenheim, 74, Captain Sir H. Le Fleming Senhouse, which arrived from Eng-

land on the 28th of July, was to enter the harbour for the purpose of assisting in heaving down the Melville, because the Rattlesnake, to whom the purchase for effecting that object was to be secured, was not sufficiently spacious to allow of the requisite power being applied at the capstan, for heaving the keel of so large a body out of the water.

The Volage also arrived from Macao, and came into harbour to complete her provisions and water.

The squadron appointed to proceed to the Imperial Sea, was to consist of the Wellesley,—to which the admiral had shifted his flag from the Melville, while she was under repair,—Blonde, Volage, Modeste, Pylades, and Madagascar, with two transports. The Pylades and transports had proceeded on the 27th to the Kwe-san Islands, to await the admiral's arrival.

On the 29th of July we weighed, in company with the flag-ship, just weathering the flat off Junk Island. The Wellesley, being further to leeward, was obliged to bring up,

while we threaded our way through the western channel. It was difficult enough to do this, the chart being imperfect, and the islands and passages very numerous, the breeze very fresh, and the tide running like a sluice. When off Keeto Point, it became evident that the Wellesley would not be able to quit the harbour that day. The captain intended to have anchored under the main land; but when within half a cable's length of it, we could get no soundings with forty fathoms of line, so the helm was put up, and the yards squared to enable us to reach our old berth under the Elephant's Trunk.

After the various duties of the day were over, Captain Eyres kindly offered me a seat in his boat. I proceeded with him to explore the Elephant's Trunk,—a long, narrow, and high island, full of fertile indentations, which have evidently been arms or bays of the sea, but have been rendered fit for cultivation by the deposit of the earthy matter previously held in suspension by these turbid waters. By the aid of man erecting embankments, these original estuaries have been converted into

flourishing rice-grounds. Through the whole of this group of islands the same operations of nature and man may be traced.

The higher lands afforded a welcome supply of bringalls, vegetable marrows, and pumpkins, the inhabitants readily parting with them, and many of them at first refusing to accept payment. In this, however, they were not allowed to persist; and sixpences, with the likeness of our gracious queen upon them, soon found great favour in their sight, being often taken in preference when the quarter dollar was refused. Much salt was made by the villagers; and, as well as I could understand from the want of oral communication, the following was their process:—

Over their salt pans is spread a sandy earth, upon which they pour in an abundance of water from the sea, and when it is entirely saturated therewith, and the water has been evaporated by the rays of the sun, this dried earth is chipped off to about one inch in depth. This is then trodden into vats, built of clay for the purpose, about seven feet long

and four feet broad, having a sieve-like bottom formed of canes; sea-water is then poured on the top, and allowed to filter through this earth and cane-work into a reservoir beneath, from which a small gutter formed of half a bamboo, leads it into large round pans. Some of this liquid I tasted, and found it to be a very strong brine, which they were boiling down at the adjoining village, in glazed earthen pans, placed in a row, with fires under each pan. It reminded me much of the interior of a boiling-house on a sugar estate in the West Indies.

After this we visited several of the small houses or huts; the walls of which were generally composed of mud, the roof being of wood. They consisted of two or more rooms, exceedingly dirty. In truth cleanliness must not be looked for in this country. No women were to be seen, and I suspect they had been conveyed to the mainland. The men were civil, and much amused with the opportunity of examining our dresses. The curiosity of the Chinese is insatiable.

At most of the houses they brought out

two stools of different heights, and with much quickness of perception, soon discovered the difference of our rank; making signs for the captain to be seated on the most elevated stool, while they placed the lower one for me on the left side of him that being considered by the Chinese the post of honour, instead of the right hand, as with us; but they never attempted to be seated in our presence,—a degree of politeness which the Chinese at Canton and Macao appeared to have quite forgotten.

CHAPTER VI.

TRIP TO THE MOUTH OF THE PEI-HO.

Clear the Islands—Pylades and transports join—Capture of Pirates—Heavy Squall—Enter Imperial Sea—Gulf of Petche-li—Board Junk—Proceed to the Pei-Ho—Pilots useless—Capture Chinaman—Mandarins spoil their Boots—Appearance of the Shore—Sounding River—Showie Pih, alias Captain White—Visit to Alcest Bay—Procure Bullocks—Good Water—Volage visits Mantchow Tartary—Wellesley at Toke—Plan for bringing Emperor to terms—Present to Squadron—Meeting with Keshen—Sickness disappears—Procure Millet—Arrangement for quitting Imperial Sea.

The truer hearted any man is, the more liable he is to be imposed on; and then the world calls it out-witting a man, when he is only out-knaved.—L'Estrange.

July the 30th, the Wellesley, in tow of two steamers, succeeded in getting out of the harbour by the western channel. The Volage, in tow of a third steamer, trying the southern; but the tide making too strong, she was obliged to follow in the flag-ship's wake; whence, about half-past two, the sig-

nal to weigh and follow to Buffalo's Nose was made, which the Blonde and Modeste quickly did, anchoring at nine to wait the tide.

By four o'clock in the afternoon of the 31st, the squadron was well clear of the islands, the Pylades and transports joining company at the same time. A junk was observed in shore, burnt to the water's edge. It appeared on communicating with the Pylades, that she had been set on fire by her people under the following circumstances; for the account of which I am indebted to my old and worthy messmate, Commander John Hay, then first lieutenant of that ship.

On the 29th instant, at about five P.M., the Pylades anchored off the Kewsan group, when the jolly-boat was sent to purchase some fish from a fishing-junk close by, the people of which pointed to three junks at anchor, between two and three miles in shore; informing the boat's crew by signs, that they were armed, fired guns, and cut people's heads off.

Captain Anson being informed of these

circumstances, and having attentively examined them with his telescope, felt convinced they were not war-junks, but pirates, and determined on sending the boats to ascertain if his opinion was right, and whether the fishermen's signs had been correctly understood. He directed the officer, if they were merchants' junks, not to interfere with them, but if of any other description, to bring them out.

In twenty minutes the boats were hoisted out, manned, armed, and proceeding on this duty under the command of Lieutenant Hay, in the ship's cutter, Lieutenant Touseau in the gig, Mr. Jefferies (mate), and Mr. Ford (mid.), being in the pinnace, while Mr. Rook (mid.) had charge of the jolly-boat, accompanied by Mr. Tweedale, the assistant-surgeon. The whole force consisted of six officers and forty-one seamen and marines. Mr. Hay, feeling that there would be sufficient work for all the boats, should resistance be offered, kept them well together. By the time they had nearly reached the suspected vessels, it was dark;

but the junks were distinctly seen at anchor about three hundred yards distant, in a small bay close off a fishing village, with a space of about fifty yards between each. The boats now lay on their oars, formed, and loaded their small arms, the officers and men receiving strict injunctions not to fire or otherwise annoy the crews of the junks, unless first attacked, or in obedience to orders given by Lieutenant Hay to do so; the nearest junk to be the first boarded, the pinnace and jolly-boat doing so on the starboard side, while the cutter and gig would do the same on the port side.

The junks' decks were now seen covered with men; everything being ready, the word was given to *stretch out*, the boats dashing gallantly alongside under a heavy but ill-directed fire from match-locks, ginjals, and guns. ..

As the men attempted to board, they were knocked back into their boats with pikes and hooks, numerous stink-pots being thrown in at the same moment, the sulphurous vapour of which rendered some of the men

temporally inefficient. The boats were therefore allowed to drop clear of the vessel, and some heavy and well-directed volleys were fired among the people on her crowded decks, the other junks supporting their comrades with their guns and ginjals; but it was of little avail against the quick firing of the boats' crews, and the pirates soon showed symptoms of having had enough; when the boats advanced a second time, our brave tars mounted the sides of the junk, her crew flying before them, and jumping into the sea.

Fleming, a fine young fellow, had a narrow escape, a gigantic Chinaman making a desperate cut at him with a heavy battle-axe. He had just time to save himself, by throwing up his musket as a guard, the stock of which was broken by the weight of the blow. He instantly threw his own away, and catching one from a shipmate, effectually prevented his antagonist from repeating the experiment. Having carried this vessel, the boats proceeded with the intention of attacking the two others, but they had, on seeing

their comrade captured, cut their cables and made off. Lieutenant Hay immediately gave chase: it was however in vain, for by their numerous men and oars, they soon left his boats far behind; returning therefore to his prize, he dispatched his wounded men to the ship.

In this gallant affair two of the boat's crew were killed and five wounded, while the carnage on board the junk had been tremendous. On examining her the next morning, many dead bodies were found still on her decks; and two men were discovered concealed below, besides quantities of arms, powder, and opium. After removing all that was valuable, she was set on fire; the two men found on board were landed on the island, where they had not been very long, before they were brought to the Pylades by the head man of the village, with their hands lashed behind them, and a chop, which, for want of an interpreter, was laid by for the present. On being handed up the side, they were put in irons, which appeared to give great satisfaction to the men in the boat which had

brought them off. Shortly after another boat arrived with a present of two goats for the captain, accompanied by a second chop, which shared the fate of the first. On their being afterwards translated by the interpreter attached to the expedition, they proved that Captain Anson's surmises had been perfectly right in supposing the destroyed junk and her companions to be piratical vessels.

In these chops the poor fishermen expressed the most lively feelings of gratitude for being delivered from the vagabonds, who had been for some time plundering them. The day after the engagement the Pylades fell in with the two which had escaped, but as they stood into shoal water, they avoided capture. A letter of thanks was forwarded by the admiral to Captain Anson, the officers and men who had been engaged in this smart little affair.

On the 1st of August we experienced one of the heaviest squalls we had yet met with on this coast; but as it brought a fair wind, no one was displeased. During the squall, the mercury in the barometer fell suddenly;

the signal and blue lights of the squadron formed a brilliant contrast to the awful blackness of the heavens, while the roaring of the wind rendered the voice quite useless. Happily, from the precautions taken, its force was expended without damage to the masts or yards of the ships.

The length of our cruise being uncertain, the ship's companies were this day, put "six upon four," or two-thirds the usual allowance per man, of salt provisions and flour.

Average thermometer .	82
„ barometer . .	29—93

On the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, the weather was moderate, the transports and steamers had parted company, and we had entered into the Yellow Sea, which certainly deserves its name; the water having assumed that colour from the quantity of yellow mud intermixed with it.

On the 5th, the Volage, at seven in the morning, made the signal for land to the N.W.; and as the day became clear, the high rugged land of Cape Chang-ting-tow, became distinctly visible, forming a bold

outline. Standing along the coast, within a moderate distance, and having fine clear weather, we were enabled to get a satisfactory view of land, which reminded us more of our own dear native scenery, than anything we had seen since quitting Great Britain; though during that time, we had, in the Modeste, visited the four quarters of the globe. On its becoming dark, we anchored in twelve fathoms. Shansan, or Great Bamboo Island, being E.½S., seven leagues.

Thermometer	. .	76
Barometer	. .	29—50

On the 6th, at 4, 30 A.M., the squadron weighed; and in obedience to a signal directing the Modeste to pass within hail of the admiral, we made all sail; but suddenly the whole squadron were enveloped in a dense fog, and the admiral's signal guns were heard, directing the ships to anchor; in which situation we remained until two o'clock, when the weather clearing off, the vessels proceeded on their way. The Modeste passed to the southward of Black Hill

or Hoo-ki Island; the Wellesley to the southward between it and Tung-yang or Quoin rock; while the Blonde passed between the Quoin and Kew-san or Little Bamboo Island; thus entering the Imperial Sea by three different routes. Off the north end of Hoo-ki are two most remarkable rocks resembling ships under sail; so perfect was the delusion, that, notwithstanding the assistance of glasses, it was for some time difficult to pronounce whether they were in reality rocks or ships.

The Gulf of Petche-li, or Imperial Sea, is about two hundred and forty miles in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, gradually narrowing towards its northern end. Its southern shore is bounded by the province of Chang-tong, its eastern by Petche-li, and its northern and eastern by Leao-Tong. The waters of this shallow sea are deeply tinged with the same shade as its yellow neighbour. Its entrance does not exceed fifty miles in breadth, and is studded with numerous islands. The whole eastern shore is evidently formed from deposits brought

down by the various streams which discharge themselves into this extensive gulf. It is a problem for geologists to solve, in what space of time this whole gulf will become one vast alluvial district with the Pei-Ho and Ta-tching-Ho flowing through its then rich and productive soil.

The constant heavy northerly gales which prevail during the winter months, drive the waters out of the gulf at its narrow entrance, and preventing their influx, reduce this sea much in depth. Indeed during that period of the year, the spot where we were at anchor in three fathoms water, is nearly or quite dry.

On passing the Kei-san Islands we observed that they were well stocked with horned cattle. The main-land assumed a bold mountainous character, the sides of which were well cultivated, and on them cattle and sheep appeared to be much more numerous than we had before seen; while the hills were in many parts crowded with natives gazing at the sight of our passing squadron, to them so novel.

On the 7th, the flag-ship made a telegraphic signal to us to examine a junk which was in sight, and if laden with grain, to detain her. We accordingly bore up for that purpose, when she perceiving our intention, did the same; but the attempt to escape was useless, and we quickly came up with her. We had, however, to fire several muskets at her before she would heave-to; when, having been dispatched for that purpose in an armed cutter, I got on board her, I found she was long and very low, her upper deck being nearly a wash with the water, with the two usual large sails, differing only in being made of cotton, with Chinese characters on them, marking her as a tribute junk. The after part of her deck was covered with a tent, under which was squatted an inferior mandarin, who retained his position, looking much frightened, and yet assuming an air of indignation, at one of the "barbarians" presuming to take possession of the helm of an imperial craft. The crew were assembled before the foremast on their knees, performing a perpetual koo-to; but, on being as-

sured that we intended them no injury, recovered sufficient self-possession to assist in taking off the hatches. She was laden with a small green bean from which soy is made, therefore, being useless to us, she was not detained. The centre of this vessel was divided into several compartments, the bulk-heads being so strong as to make each completely independent in case of springing a leak. Some of these divisions contained the beans in bulk; one was a water-tank, and another, from its various contents, appeared to be doing duty as a store-room.

On the 8th we hove-to till daylight, and then anchored, the breeze increasing to a fresh gale from the north-east; steamers and transports rejoined company.

Thermometer . .	78
Barometer . .	29—76

On the 9th, at eleven A.M., we weighed with the squadron, and stood in towards the Pei-Ho, the smaller vessels being placed ahead and on the bows of the flag-ship, to show by signal every change in the depth of the water. The bottom was a soft mud,

gradually shoaling from ten to seven fathoms; in which depth the Wellesley was anchored, while the Modeste stood in due west, seven miles nearer, towards the Pei-Ho, and brought up in five fathoms; from whence we could just distinguish from off the deck two large square buildings, apparently rising out of the sea; it was impossible to say whether they were forts or not.

At daylight on the 10th, we hoisted out the boats, and prepared them for service, the atmosphere being very hazy. At two P.M., I proceeded with the pinnace and cutter to the Madagascar steamer, where I found Captain Elliot, with four boats from the off-shore ships. Our destination was to be the Pei-Ho; the object of it to deliver a chop requiring the authorities to send a proper officer to receive Lord Palmerston's despatch, which was generally understood to contain the terms of restitution and compensation required by the British government, for the late wanton acts and injuries which had been committed by the local authorities at Canton against the British subjects.

The steamers with the boats in tow, standing towards the shore anchored in three fathoms; when it was found too late to think of entering the river that evening, our Chinese pilot stating the tide would not admit of our doing so. These men had been taken out of a junk, and were promised, if they performed their duty properly, their vessels should be restored to them as soon as the boats returned to their ships.

The steamers being anchored, Mr. Dicey very hospitably provided a dinner for all hands,—to me, especially, not an unwelcome sight,—for, griffin-like, I had left the ship without remembering Sir Dugald Dalgetty's maxim, and therefore had to exist on the donations of my friends. After a merry evening, and drinking success to the China expedition, each one endeavoured to look out the softest plank; mine must have been the hardest on board, for it was the very opposite to soft.

On the morning of the 11th all was bustle; the boats being prepared, at six o'clock started for the river; the flag-ship's barge

leading, with Captain Elliot and several other gentlemen on board.

From the entrance of the river a flat extends about three miles out which becomes dry at low water, the force of the river keeping a deep passage open through it; but as the stream expands on the outer edge of the flat, a bar is formed on which there is only thirteen feet water at the top of the highest spring tide. The passage was designated by a few single bamboos which the Chinese had not found time wholly to remove, though some of the inner ones were cut down. Our Chinese pilots were of little use, for we soon found the outer bamboos without their assistance; they were much frightened for fear of meeting with the mandarins though dressed in seamen's jackets, having their tails coiled round their heads, over which was a straw hat; but to make certain of the poor fellows' safety, they were put into the cutter and sent back to the steamer. Just after crossing the bar a small boat was boarded with three men, out of which one was prevailed upon to enter the

barge; but no sooner were questions put about the mandarins than he evinced the greatest alarm, and his companions, watching their opportunity, slipped away and ran their light skiff upon the mud, where we could not get near them, nor would anything tempt them to approach us again; and as our friend would know nothing, he was permitted to jump overboard; of which permission he quickly availed himself, splashing through the water with apparent delight.

A mandarin's boat being seen ahead driving all the boats and vessels into the river, Lieut. W. Maitland in the barge, accompanied by Captain Elliot, and others, proceeded to communicate with her, giving me directions to anchor with the other boats. On getting alongide they found several mandarins, who engaged to take the chop in, the barge following them. As she touched the beach, the mandarins on shore in their satin boots, regardless of the mud and water, ran up to their knees to meet her, begging they would come no nearer, and assured them that the Viceroy Keshen was at Toong-koo, where he

had been some days awaiting the arrival of the squadron. On Lieutenant Maitland's delivering the letter, of which he was the bearer, a mounted mandarin immediately started with it for Toong-koo.

From where the boats were anchored I could with my glass distinguish that a very large concourse of people had assembled round the barge; and feeling that in case of any treachery on the part of the Chinese, the whole might be killed or carried off before I could render them any assistance, I determined to run closer in with the boats, so that our guns might be effective. Closing to within about a quarter of a mile I brought up, and it appeared afterwards, that at that very moment the mandarins were requesting that orders might be sent off to prohibit our nearer approach for *fear of alarming the people;* nor could they understand how their wishes had apparently been so instantaneously communicated to us. In about two hours the messenger returned from Keshen with a chop for the plenipotentiaries, stating that he had no authority to

treat, but must first report the arrival of the squadron to Pekin, for which he would require six days.

This coast had a wretched appearance from the boats, being nearly a dead flat interspersed with small sand-hills, but not having a symptom of vegetation to relieve the eye. On each side of the entrance of the river there was an old and delapidated fort, fast falling to decay. On the top of the western one were several tents pitched; one of which was blue and yellow, with a red triangular flag flying over it. Numerous workmen were seen busy repairing these forts and throwing up entrenchments in all directions; and before the squadron finally quitted the coast the whole face of the shore bristled with cannon.

On our return out of the river the course to the bar was S.E. by E. We passed several of the largest junks we had ever seen, which were just entering the river. They were nearly as high out of the water as any of our two-decked ships, and appeared crowded with passengers, among whom could

be distinguished many female heads; the hair, formed in a knot on the top of the head, pointing out their sex, which, otherwise, a stranger has difficulty in discovering, so much of the masculine attire being blended with their easy and comfortable dresses.

A-head of these floating cities were their boats, which were, in fact, miniature junks towing them over the bar. On platforms, fixed on each side of the junk, there were men trying the depth of water with long graduated bamboo poles, calling the soundings at every *pole.* These junks were gorgeously painted, having their stems much ornamented with the everlasting Chinese dragon. They were, we understood, just arrived from Japan. From the numerous masts we saw over the land, and the variety of vessels sailing in and out of this river, a most flourishing trade must be going on at the great buying and selling mouth, as this entrance is styled. The large vessels can only cross the bar at spring tides, and then are frequently obliged to discharge part of their cargo into smaller

ones, which are kept for that purpose. During a strong breeze we experienced on the 18th, a large junk parted her cable, and tried to run for the river, but struck on the eastern side of the bar, where she was bilged, and formed an admirable beacon to us afterwards.

On the 12th, the steamers, with several boats of the squadron, proceeded to sound the bar, which the steamer crossed, and anchored close under the fort in five fathom water.

Orders having been issued the day before for the detention of all junks with provisions, the boats of the Volage had detained several; but from adverse wind and tide they were obliged to anchor some way from the ship.

A most melancholy occurrence took place on this day. Some seamen left in charge of a junk, while the officer was busied with others, forgetting their characters as British seamen, plundered the cabin of the Chinese captain, which, on the officer's return, was represented to him, and the things returned. A man, named Doyle, being pointed to as

the head aggressor, stoutly denied the charge; but, on a search, the things were found in his possession, and he was assured that he would be reported on his return on board; and from the well known justness of his captain, he knew his punishment would be severe. Unfortunately, shortness of hands prevented the lieutenant from putting him in confinement; and from the number of the Chinese crew, general orders were given to keep them before the mast. This occurred on the evening of the 11th.

As the captain of the junk next morning came aft to his cabin, he was directed by Doyle to go forward, for which purpose he was turning, when Doyle discharged his musket, and the unfortunate Chinese fell shot through the head. The villain, throwing down his musket, continued eating his breakfast. The officer instantly jumped off the poop, and had him secured; and the wounded man was removed to the Volage, where he lingered for a few days. Doyle was afterwards tried by a court-martial, at which the witnesses swore that he (Doyle)

had just cleaned his own musket, and laid it down with some others. On speaking to the Chinaman, he caught up what he supposed to be his own unloaded one, and pointed it at the man without any intention of injuring him. He was allowed the benefit of the error, and acquitted of the murder, but sentenced for the robbery to two years in the marshalsea, to be mulct of all pay, and to be turned out of her majesty's service with disgrace.

On the 13th and 14th, the weather being squally and disagreeable, with heavy rain, we collected four tons of rain water. This quantity was obtained by spreading all the awnings, and collecting every bucket and tub in the ship to catch the water as it ran from them.

Thermometer	.	.	78
Barometer	.	.	29—74

On the 16th, the admiral, accompanied by several boats of the squadron, proceeded with the Madagascar to the entrance of the river, the boats sounding and taking bearings preparatory to any required movement of the

ships, when it was found that the Modestê and steamer, from their light draught, could cross the bar on the spring tides. While employed on this duty, a mandarin brought out the answer from Keshen; and on seeing the employment of the boats, was very angry, and wanted to know "why we came and did these things without leave." It was found, that the bearer of the chop, Showpei Pih (better known to us by the sobriquet of Captain White), an aide-de-camp of Keshen's, was empowered to receive Lord Palmerston's letter, and ten days were requested for the imperial court to consider the contents of it, and return their answer. This reasonable request was of course complied with, and the squadron on the following day was dispersed, visiting different parts of the Imperial Sea, to gain information and obtain supplies.

Showpei Pih was a captain in the imperial cavalry, and sported a white button to denote that rank; he appeared to be a shrewd clever fellow, was ever singing the praises of his master Keshen, and striving to impress

us with the viceroy's good feeling towards the English; his wish for an amicable arrangement, in proof of which he had dissuaded the emperor from his intention of marching an army of Tartars to Chusan, and at once sweeping its invaders from the face of the earth.

Pih had a quick and observing eye; nothing new was allowed to pass unnoticed, but with true Chinese apathy he never evinced the slightest astonishment. During all his intercourse with us, he proved himself an amusing fellow, and had Keshen's star remained in the ascendant, he would probably have pushed himself to a *darker* button, but the fall of his master involved all the underlings.

On the 16th, the Blonde and Modeste, with the Enaurd transport, weighed for the purpose of visiting Alceste Bay, on the coast of Leao-Tong, there to procure water and bullocks. At ten we made the Thunder and Lightning Islands, on which the surf was beating with tremendous violence, the roar-

ing of it being heard by us five or six miles off. Light north-east winds.

Thermometer . .	86
Barometer . .	29—78

On the 17th, made the high land of Western China, which is composed of a lofty rugged range, combining every variety of form and figure to be found in mountain scenery. Some of our party imagined they could trace the great wall crossing many an elevated peak, but I cannot say that I could distinguish anything of it.

On the 18th we experienced hard blowing weather from the north-east with a very uncomfortable short sea; the Modeste, to the great satisfaction of all on board, beat the Blonde considerably, going in the wind's eye of her.

Thermometer . .	76
Barometer . .	29—71

On the 19th, daylight found the Blonde had parted company during the night.

Thermometer . .	89
Barometer . .	29—74

On the 20th, made the eastern coast of Leao-Tong, which appears moderately high land. The Blonde rejoined at 7·30 P.M., when we anchored at Alceste Bay in seven fathoms; the watering-place bearing N.E. by E. three-quarters of a mile. This anchorage is completely open to south and north-west winds.

The features of the country were sterile, in comparison with what we had lately been accustomed to see. The hills, however, appear to furnish tolerable pasturage for cattle; of which we hoped to get a good supply, for herds of them were seen grazing in the neighbourhood. Fresh provisions began to be much wanted in the squadron. In the Modeste, in particular, during the preceding ten months, the crew had not been supplied with above twenty meals of fresh meat.

A beautiful stream of fresh water was found running into the sea, just round a bluff point, where a range of hills terminated and the millet cultivation commenced. Any ship watering here must be prepared with long *hoses* to conduct the stream into the

boats, which have difficulty in approaching at low tide. Any quantity may be obtained by forming a temporary dam on the previous evening. This water to us was a delicious treat, after the filthy stuff we had been lately obliged to swallow.

On the 23rd of August we had not been able to purchase anything from the inhabitants, the mandarins having ordered them to have no dealings with us. These gentry had removed their buttons and other ensigns of office, so that we could not distinguish them from the other inhabitants.

It had been observed, that the cattle were penned at a peculiar spot every night; Captain Bourchier therefore determined to attempt their capture. At two in the morning, the Blonde's and our boats started on that service, but as they touched the beach, it became evident the Chinese expected such a visit, for the alarm was given by a man evidently placed there on the look out.

On his giving the alarm, the pen was opened, when out scampered the cattle, spreading in every direction, apparently as

loath to have anything to do with us as their masters. Three beasts only, with two calves, were brought on board; two or three escaped on the return of the men to the boats, proving the party to be no borderers, or they would have better understood how to manage a raid.

After the party had embarked, the owners of the bullocks ventured alongside the Blonde, where they were kindly received, and ten dollars a-head paid them for their cattle, with which sum they were highly pleased, and signed a paper in Chinese to that effect, and that they considered the whole a very fair proceeding; but they could not be prevailed on to part with any more voluntarily.

This evidently arose from the orders of the mandarins, to which may be added their own disinclination to part with what they considered too useful an animal to kill for their own consumption; and yet it is a most extraordinary fact, that in no part of China they make use of the milk. Nothing afforded the inhabitants of Chusan so much amusement as the milking of the goats. The

cattle on this peninsula and adjacent islands are a small mountain breed, seldom weighing more than three hundred weight; they are smooth-skinned, short in the horn, with a fine antelope-shaped leg.

The transport heaving in sight, we were obliged to continue watering; but the Blonde's boats, after the ship's company's dinner-hour, made a most successful foray on an island to the southward, where they captured sixty-eight head in all, which were speedily embarked. Ducks and fowls were procured in a similar manner, and when the owners did not appear, the value of them was left in their houses. It afforded the youngsters much amusement chasing and catching the feathered tribe. On one occasion, Captain Eyres came suddenly on a house where a fresh-dressed salad was standing on a table, but the inmates had fled, numerous marks of *little feet* on the sand shewing that they had escaped into a neighbouring wood, and were no doubt watching the proceedings of their visitors.

At another house was an old man who

had evidently considered it useless to get out of the way. He was very civil, furnished the party with poultry and vegetables, for which he accepted payment, but with naïveté asked, "What wind would be fair for the ships to go away with?"—thus shewing how glad the poor creatures would be when they saw our sails set.

In the evening I landed at the water-place, where many Chinese had assembled, and one or two fowls were brought for barter. I purchased several very prettily coloured bangles, made of a peculiar glassy-looking china. I found uniform buttons in great request; but the old bangle-merchant was evidently not a resident of the place, and understood the full value of the precious metal; for he would not part with his wares for any other consideration. A button off my jacket purchased me a crystal burning lens; and for a whole set of five buttons, a man that was in mourning cut off from his jacket his glass ones, substituting the crown and anchor in their place.

My watch afforded them much amusement.

One of the party appeared by his signs to understand the use of it. I took good care not to allow it out of my hands when open; but I should recommend any person dealing with these people, to take a telescope, and lend it to some one in the crowd. The insatiate curiosity of the Chinese will keep them from pressing or annoying him, while his glass will be in perfect safety; for I have seen no act or attempt to pilfer on the part of the inhabitants of these islands. I cannot say as much for Canton. Captain Basil Hall in his *Narrative*, gives an account of a singular instance of honesty met with at Oei-hai-oi.

Of eggs we could find very few, and they were generally carefully treasured. In one house a pile of bricks, or what appeared bricks, excited our curiosity; for they proved on examination to be square lumps of paddy pounded up together, and thus kept for the purpose of distilling shamsoo from them,—an ardent spirit in general use throughout China.

Their bed places were most curious, being

long stone troughs, which in winter have hot embers placed in them; when, being covered over with large stones, the bedding is spread at top, thus making a warm and comfortable resting-place. The population does not appear to be great, and there was much waste land perfectly capable of cultivation.

Captain Eyres, in pulling round the bays, fell in with some junks laden with coals, of which he brought a specimen away. They seemed to be bright, and of good appearance. As far as he could understand from the crews of the junks, they came from mines about thirty miles off. This is well worthy of attention, and may be the means of supplying any of our steamers which may be employed for the future in the Gulf of Petche-li. The men appeared a small race, clothed in the usual loose jacket and trowsers, with the everlasting Chinese accompaniments,—fan and pipe; the latter of which, while out of use, is generally carried in the hand, while the fan with most of them is slipped inside the boot.

A Chinese crowd has a droll appearance from their pipes being held up over the head

to prevent the pressure of the crowd injuring them. The women we could never get a sight of; but the marks of their small foot-steps frequently seen, proved their true Chinese origin. There is no doubt but that this peninsula, with the adjacent islands, were peopled by the Chinese during the invasion of the Tartars,—thousands of them preferring emigration to submitting to their savage conquerors.

Thermometer . .	80
Barometer . . .	30—10

On the 26th, thirty minutes after two, P.M., these poor people's wishes were gratified, the squadron making sail to rejoin the admiral.

On the 27th, a fresh north-east wind soon carried us to an anchorage near the flag-ship, where we learnt that the answer from the coast which ought to have come yester-day, had not yet arrived; but the Volage telegraphed that a boat was wishing to com-municate.

While we had been visiting Alceste Bay, the Volage, Captain George Elliot, had proceeded to Mantchow Tartary, a tributary

of China, and where buttons appeared to be of much more value than we had found them: for they were able to purchase a sheep and poultry for a single one. They were received kindly by the inhabitants, who made no difficulty in bartering provisions; and in the rambles and shooting excursions of the officers in the interior, they found quantities of game. The men are a fine race, and evinced the same jealousy in the care of their women, which had been generally observed in most other parts of the Chinese empire. The Wellesley and Pylades proceeded to Toke, where they were supplied with water and bullocks, and a present was sent off by the head mandarin of some very fine grapes. As the ships stood in, the women were seen escaping over a hill behind the town; they must fancy us a horridly ungallant set of beings, thus to fly from us in all directions.

On the 28th, the chop not having arrived, the admiral proceeded in the steamer, in which was embarked part of the Wellesley's marines, with the boats of the squadron, to buoy the bar and passage to the river. The

remaining marines of the Wellesley being put on board the Modeste, we weighed and stood in, full of the hope of entering the Pei-Ho; but alas! our hopes were to be disappointed; for the admiral met a chop coming out, announcing that the emperor had appointed Keshen his commissioner to treat with us. This was much to be regretted, as, if we had entered the river, we might have brought them to some definite treaty. Tien-sing, a large commercial city at the junction of the Yun-liang canal, would then have been at our mercy; a few hours being sufficient to convey the steamer and ship there, when once over the bar; and I apprehend the blaze of the grain junks there assembled, with that of the city if requisite, would have aroused the emperor to a sense of his danger, and our own terms might have been obtained.

Though occupying a longer time, the same object would be gained by a strict blockade of the mouths of the rivers Pei-Ho, San-Ho, and Chan-tou, supported by one established up the Yang-tse-kiang, off the entrance of the

great canal. Thus Pekin, which depends for its supplies on the southern provinces, would be reduced to the greatest straights for provisions, which would instantly produce a rising in the capital, and probably end in the overthrow of the present dynasty. Of this the emperor is so well aware, that he takes great care that no want of grain or provisions shall be felt in the capital.

On the morning of the 29th, junks came out with supplies for the fleet, sent by the emperor's orders. They consisted of twenty bullocks, two hundred sheep, with numerous ducks and fowls, and one or two thousand eggs; but as they were far advanced towards chickenhood, the boatmen were allowed to retain them,—and much pleased did they appear with their booty. The mandarins in charge of the presents wore brass buttons, and were fine specimens of men. From under the button, and extending behind, they had two strips of fur, about six inches long. I have since learnt that these squirrel *tails*, as we named them, were worn to denote that the country was in an unquiet state.

These gentry were handed down to the cabin, and made no objection to a glass of gin; but the true way to a Chinaman's heart, is with a glass of cherry-brandy: it possesses a charm he cannot resist; not is that much to be wondered at,—

A fellow feeling makes us wond'rous kind.

The Wellesley's marines were sent back in the steamer, and the meeting with Keshen was finally arranged to take place on the morrow. Captain Elliot, the second plenipotentiary, was to attend on the part of the British; it being considered, that the dignity of the admiral, as chief plenipotentiary, might suffer in the eyes of the Chinese, by a meeting taken place between him and an envoy from the celestial court, not accredited with full plenipotentiary powers.

At 10 P.M., the Madagascar stopping near us, Captain Eyres went on board her to attend Captain Elliot at the conference to be held the next day, where a true Chinese entertainment was served up; but their feasts have been described so often before,

and this one, in particular, so ably by Lord Jocelyn, that I shall pass it by, merely noticing one or two little circumstances which appear to have escaped his lordship's observation.

When some of the party had succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the mandarins, and managed to get a stolen peep at what was to be seen beyond the screens which surrounded the tents where they were regaled, several of the lower orders were squatted on their haunches, with the hope of getting a sight of the English barbarians who were within. The moment they caught the eye of any of the party, they made signs to them to *punch* the mandarins; but the instant a *button* appeared, they waddled off at a most extraordinary pace, considering that they still retained their squatting position.

The conference lasted six hours. One of Keshen's principal arguments was, that we had better take a part of our demand, or we might, perchance, lose all. He freely admitted that the English had been ill-used,

and that it would have served Lin right, if we had retaliated at Canton, and punished him; but not being empowered to enter into a definitive treaty, he required twelve days more to communicate with the court. The time was granted, and the parties returned to their respective ships.

Any remuneration for the supplies was refused; it being stated, that all the members of the mission were considered the emperor's guests. On the 31st, a junk brought off a supply of fodder for the cattle, principally shamsoo-grains; the bullocks eat it greedily. There was also a small proportion of millet for the sheep and fowls.

On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of September, nothing of note occurred; we experienced fine weather, with southerly winds. The diarrhœa had, by the goodness of Providence, gradually yielded under the able treatment of our surgeon, Mr. B. M'Avoy. He had administered, internally, a pill with caustic, which was attended with most beneficial effects.

Thermometer	. . 78
Barometer	29—78 to 29—73

On the 4th, the admiral, accompanied by a party from the squadron, made a trip in the Madagascar steamer, to the great wall, and approached very near to the point of the coast where it terminates. The wall appears to descend the side of the very rugged and precipitous mountains in this neighbourhood, stretching for about three miles in a northerly direction across a plain, where it reaches a ledge of rocks, with which it is itself intermixed, until the end of it is lost in the neighbouring sea.

The latitude of the spot .	40° 4′ N.
Longitude	120°. 2′. E.

On the 5th, we had been ordered to take millet from the junks that might pass us laden with that grain, and pay them one dollar per hundred pounds. The officer on this duty was furnished with a series of questions in Chinese, to which he was to make the master write down the answers. On one occasion, when it was sent to the interpreter for translation, their answers proved to be a protest against the proceeding. They were government boats; the

price paid was more than its real value, and it was absolutely necessary to have it, to prevent the cattle from perishing.

On the 7th, blew a fresh gale from the S.E.

Thermometer . .	80
Barometer . .	29—73

On the 10th, Showie Pih again made his appearance, announcing the appointment of Keshen as high commissioner, to proceed to Canton to inquire into and redress the wrongs which had there been inflicted on us; further requesting, in the emperor's name, that the British plenipotentiary should there meet him for a final arrangement, and that a suspension of hostilities should take place pending the negotiation.

These terms were finally agreed to. I concurred with some others, in still thinking that the emperor would not make the concessions required, by several of which he would "loose face" in the eyes of his subjects, or that Keshen held out his fallacious hopes of a redress of all our grievances with any other idea than that of gaining time,

and getting the squadron out of the Imperial Sea; in which quarter he was fully aware of their inability to make on the moment any effective resistance. Yet the plenipotentiaries could do no otherwise with any degree of propriety, than accede to the emperor's apparently reasonable wishes. Might they not naturally suppose, that the Pekin cabinet had used the same argument to the emperor, which was ever urged to us, "that the acts complained of, and now first known to them, had occurred at Canton, and therefore that Canton was the proper place for them to be inquired into and redressed?"

Had the plenipotentiaries in their very first intercourse with the court, assumed that in all its promises it was insincere, and consequently refused to have met the third dignitary of the Chinese empire, as had been proposed, would they not have been justly subjected to a censure from their own government, for a presumed foreknowledge that the emperor intended to play false? And the strongest reason of all is, that the season was too far advanced for offensive

operations taking place in the gulf, with full and proper effect. This step, therefore, did not, in fact, retard any ulterior operations.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th were occupied in trying the man belonging to the Volage who had shot the Chinese on board the junk on the 12th ultimo.

Thermometer	. .	70
Barometer	. .	29—79

CHAPTER VII.

RETURN TO CHUSAN.

Quit the Pei-Ho—Toke—City of Tong-Tchou-foo—Chinese Ladies—Defences—Manning the Guns—Chinese Banners—Arms—Paoupang—Jealousy of Mandarins—Mia-tau Group—Artificial Harbour—Dandy Mandarin—Dissertation on Tails—Mandarin's Attendant—The Cabin and Curiosity—Rejoin Admiral—Mountain of Flesh—His Appetite—Admiration of Fatness—Mia-tau—Loss of Pinnace—Use of Telescope — Chinese Déjeuné — Sculling Boats — Chin-chin not Chin-chin—Quelpert—Ordered off Ning-po—Wreck of Kite—Cruel treatment of her Crew—Dimensions of Cages—Death of Prisoners —Their Release—Capture of Captain Anstruther.

But when the vessel is on quicksands cast,
The flowing tide does more the sinking haste.—DRYDEN.

THE expedition to the Pie-Ho having thus far apparently brought to a peaceable conclusion the discussion in question, nothing farther remained to be done off that river.

On the 15th of September, therefore, the squadron proceeded on its return to Chusan; and, standing across this shallow sea, an-

chored on the evening of the 16th, off a small village on the Island of Toke, where it was expected we should meet with an old Canton compradore, with whom the Pylades had communicated on a former visit; but it appeared that he had been taken into Keshen's service, and was at the present moment at Tong-Tchou-foo.

Toke is a small but fertile island, situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Petche-li, and affords a good anchorage and a convenient watering-place. The village consisted of about one hundred houses.

On the 17th, having embarked Captain Charles Elliot and Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, we weighed in the Modeste, and stood over for Tong-Tchou-foo, a large walled city on the north side of the peninsula of Chang-Tong. The walls of this city are high and strongly built. From the gradual rise of the ground on which they stand, we were enabled to make out, that they were about thirty feet thick, affording an elevated and good road round the city, with a castellated parapet, on which were mounted a few miserable wall-pieces.

The houses, which occupied about half the inclosed space, were principally the single-storied stone and brick buildings of China. Towards the upper end of the town there was a spacious and handsome joss-house; while the red poles*, in sundry directions, pointed out the locality of the mandarins, whose residence in this city appeared more numerous than we had generally observed. On the western angle of the town was a small and ill-constructed fort, with several smart-looking houses near it, gorgeously ornamented with the elaborate but disproportioned Chinese roof; at the windows of which we could with our glasses distinguish many pretty little female faces, whose husbands, little dreaming of the peeping Toms, had not taken their usual jealous precautions; so that their *cara sposas* had a full opportunity of exposing their charms to the "barbarian eye." The ladies of China paint white and red, with the eye-brows marked with fine black lines.

* Throughout China, two red poles are erected before the residence of government officers.

From our distant view their theatrically-painted faces had a pretty and pleasing appearance; their hair being turned up, and forming a knot at the top of the head, on each side of which bouquets of artificial flowers were fixed. I really must apologize for allowing the ladies thus to run away with my pen in the middle of a Chinese position, and beg my readers to hurry back with me to the lines.

From the fort I was speaking of, and beyond the walls, a high bluff point extended into the sea, whence an invading force would command the interior of the city. To the east there is an extensive flat; from which the ground gradually rises to the hills in the rear of the town, that were thickly covered with millet-fields, interspersed with rich pasturage lands; the cattle that were kept there were removed on our arrival. Along the face of this flat, and close to, and pointing seaward, was an evidently new but strong field-work, having from forty to fifty pieces of cannon mounted along its face. On each flank of this apparently strong position were

large encampments of troops, surrounded by numerous wall-pieces on triangular and portable stands.

Our appearance evidently created an immense sensation among the tiger-hearted Tartars. The troops were hurrying out in great numbers, but without the most distant attempt at discipline. They very soon mounted the works, pitching a standard at each gun. Their standards were yellow, red, green with red borders, and the reverse. This evidently proved the presence of both description of troops; for the Tartar part of the Chinese army are ranged in eight divisions of 10,000 men, each under the colours yellow, white, red, and blue, or one of the colours bordered by the other; thus constituting a standing army of 80,000 men. The Chinese are distinguished by a green banner with a red border, or the reverse, on the centre of which is displayed the large gilt dragon of China.

The walls of the city were crowded by thousands of the inhabitants to gaze on the barbarian *sanpan*. As she stood along

shore and close to their lines, we could see many of the fairer portion of the creation amongst the crowd, no doubt led there by the inherent curiosity of their sex.

On the hills, to the westward of the town, were several detachments of troops. Altogether, this amphitheatre of hills spotted with white and party-coloured tints, the gorgeous banners, and picturesque grouping of the troops, made the *coup d'œil* highly pleasing. Their arms consisted of matchlocks, bows and arrows, with a great variety of pikes and swords; the mandarins being mounted on strong but small-looking nags.

Mr. Morrison landed as bearer of a chop, requesting a supply of provisions; and while he was conducting the negotiation the galley returned with Paoupang the compradore, who was afterwards at Canton the means of communication between Keshen and the British plenipotentiary. This man had formerly been compradore to Mr. Dent's establishment at Canton, but on the arrival of Lin, had thought it advisable to leave that neighbourhood. He had now been given,

or more probably had purchased the rank of an inferior mandarin. He wore a winter cap with brass button, *minus* the squirrel tails, which we had before seen at the Pei-Ho. His robe was a rich puce-coloured satin, reaching about half way down the legs, which were encased in black satin boots, with the sole about two inches in thickness. He professed much regard for the English: but, like all his countrymen, he was a most intolerable liar. He had many wonderful tales of his escapes since leaving Canton, and assured us that the mandarins had squeezed him to the tune of *seventy thousand dollars.* This I afterwards ascertained was the greatest "Munchausen" of all his tales; for he could never have been possessed of one-tenth part of that sum.

When, as he supposed, he had astounded us with the magnificence of his new master, we got rid of our talkative friend. Mr. Morrison returned in the boat that landed him, the mandarins having promised to furnish us with the supplies we required. We learnt from him that though he had been

treated with much courtesy, yet on his expressing a wish to go into the city, he met with a good humoured and civil refusal; the mandarins laughing, and assuring him that "it was such a poor place as not to be worth seeing—in fact, he would laugh at it." It is almost incredible with what jealousy the Chinese guard their cities and country from the observation of strangers.

Our object being attained, we made sail to rejoin the admiral at Toke, where we arrived by four o'clock on the morning of the 18th.

Captain Elliot returning to the flag-ship, we bore up for the Mia-tau group, and anchored about ten o'clock under the south side of the centre island, bearing the same name; Wellesley, Volage, and transport, arriving about an hour after.

These islands are moderately high, the hilly parts affording a very scanty vegetation; while the valleys luxuriate in the usual Chinese plenty. Between this and the easternmost island, Kei-san, there is an anchorage much frequented by junks. From the westernmost one, Shan-san, an extensive

reef runs out, shoaling suddenly from seventeen fathoms. We found on getting those soundings it was requisite to put the helm immediately down, and then before the ship was round we had shoaled to a half-five.

On the 19th we were once more under all sail with Captain Elliot, and a party for Tong-Tchou-foo. At eight, Captain Elliot and Mr. Morrison landed on the west side the town, within a natural break-water formed by a small reef, the surf being too heavy on the beach to admit of their doing so there. We now saw from the ship a large artificial harbour, formed by strongly built stone piers, between which an opening was left capable of admitting the largest junks, but which are obliged to go in and out at high water; several were at this time, it being low water, aground in the harbour.

Captain Elliot, after a short stay, returned to the ship, accompanied by Paoupang; when the boat immediately went back for a mandarin and his servant, who were very anxious to accompany Captain Elliot, no doubt as spies on the compradore, of whom they

evinced great jealousy; but as Captain Elliot wanted to have some private communication with this man, the smallness of the boat afforded a ready opportunity for declining their company.

This mandarin was one of the finest specimens of a man I had till then seen in China. He stood about six feet two or three inches, and was apparently stout in proportion. He wore the winter cap, the crown of which was of a puce-coloured satin, shaped to, and fitting close to the head, with a brim of black velvet* turned sharply up all round, the front and hinder parts rising rather higher than the sides,—in fact, in shape much resembling the paper boats we make for children. On the dome-shaped top of this he wore a white crystal sexangular button, in a handsome setting. Beneath this was a one-eyed peacock's feather falling down between his shoulders. This feather was set in green jade-stone about two inches long, beyond which about ten inches of the

* This, with the lower orders, is frequently formed of black cloth.

feather projected, and though apparently but one, is, in fact, formed of several most beautifully united.

His ma-kwa, or riding-coat, was a fine blue camlet, the large sleeves of which extended about half down the fore-arm, and the skirts nearly to the hip. Under this he wore a richly-figured blue silk jacket, the sleeves equally large, but reaching nearly to the wrist, and the skirts sufficiently long to display the full beauty of it below the ma-kwa. These loose dresses always fold over the right breast, and are fastened from top to bottom with loops and buttons. His *unwhisperables* were of a light blue figured Nankin crape, cut much in the modern Greek style, being immediately below the knee tucked into the black satin mandarin boots, that in shape much resemble the old hessian, once so common in this country, with soles some two inches thick, the sides of which were kept nicely white, Warren's jet not yet having been introduced. To this part of his dress a Chinese dandy pays as much attention as our exquisites do to the formation of a "Humby."

The figure was completed by his apparently warlike, but really peaceable implements, which no respectable Chinaman would be seen without, viz., the fan with its highly-worked sheath; the purse or tobacco-pouch, in the exquisite embroidery of which great ingenuity is displayed; a variety of silver tooth and ear-picks, with a pocket for his watch, the belt to which these are attached having a small leather case fixed to it, to contain his flint and steel. I had nearly forgotten his tail,—his beautiful tail, the pride of every Chinaman's heart,—and in this case, if all his own, he might well be proud of it. I am afraid to say how thick it was, but it reached half way down his leg, and I would defy Rowland's macassar to give a finer gloss. In short, he was the very epitome of a dandy Chinese cavalry officer.

On the subjugation of China by the Tartars an edict was issued, requiring the whole nation to shave the front of the head, and to plat the residue of the hair into a tail, the length and size of which is considered in China a great mark of masculine beauty, in

consequence of which great quantities of false hair are worked up with the natural hair, the ends being finished off with black silk cord. To the lower orders it is a useful ornament. I remember, on one occasion, to have seen a Chinaman flogging his pig along with it, while on another, the servant was dusting the table; and when their belligerent propensities are excited, which is not often, they will twist each other's tails round their hands, pulling with all their strength, and enduring the most horrible torture until one or the other cries out *peccavi*.

While this mandarin was mounting the ship's side, his fan had been allowed to rest in its case; but he was no sooner firmly on the deck, than out flew this everlasting companion of a Chinaman: nor do I think he could have accomplished his salute without it.

The attendant was not so tall, but an exceedingly muscular and powerful fellow,

His leg would make a chairman stare;

and I think they must have been picked out

to make us imagine we had nothing but such herculean men to deal with.

White Button having been ushered into the captain's cabin, where cherry brandy was produced, a long conversation took place between Paoupang and Captain Elliot relative to the supplies, &c.; the mandarin frequently asked what they were saying. On one occasion, when Paoupang had been exposing and abusing the whole fraternity, he answered White Button's query by assuring him, that he was telling the captain what very good persons mandarins were, and that the people liked them very much. Paoupang, at all events, made such a good story out of the mandarin's refusing to receive any compensation for the *small quantity* of supplies furnished, and of their squeezing him ultimately for it, that it was arranged that he should be paid for all that should have been supplied when he came to Canton with Keshen, by which means he would prevent the mandarins at this place getting hold of the dollars. That the inhabitants generally were squeezed and made to give their cattle as a bribe for us to

go away, I think very possible; but I do not think they would have ventured to squeeze an attaché of Keshen's: at all events, he succeeded in squeezing us.

Having got rid of our visitors, the chief of whom seemed rather disgusted at his servant having found his way to the lower deck, where he had been revelling in the charms of a glass of grog, we made sail to rejoin the admiral; but light winds and a lee tide, obliged us to anchor for the night.

On the 20th, having anchored near the flag-ship, about 6 A.M., Captain Elliot and his party quitted us. Captain Eyres, waiting on the admiral shortly afterwards, found him entertaining at breakfast a party of mandarins from Mia-tau, the chief of whom was a huge mountain of flesh,—say *thirty-five* stone,—whose great boast was, that a sheep only furnished him with three days' supply of food; and to judge from the justice they all did to the substantial breakfast before them, it could easily be believed; the mountain, for I forget his name, taking up the slices of mutton as they were sent to him, on his fork,

and coi ing them down his throat, much as a Neap litan swallows his maccaroni; nor did he appear to have satisfied the cravings of his inordinate appetite, after all his exertions. By his countrymen he must be thought much of, fatness with them being a sure sign of wealth and wisdom; for they argue, "a thin man must be a poor devil, or he would have wisdom to eat more."

The lusty individual is also considered an especial favourite with the gods, who are represented as good portly characters. Being myself "none of Pharaoh's lean kine," I always met with a certain degree of deference.

It being arranged that the Volage, Modeste, and the two transports, should remain to embark the bullocks and other supplies, the Wellesley sailed for Chusan about eleven o'clock, the Madagascar having proceeded there some days before; but the Blonde and Pylades were gone to visit the coast of the Corea.

The men having dined, I pulled to the beach, with an intention of viewing the village,

a few hundred yards inland, in which however I did not succeed, being quietly and civilly turned back; and even an attempt to mount their barren hills was met by the same jealous opposition. Thus I was not able to proceed, in any one direction, two hundred yards from the spot on which I landed. On making them understand, by signs, that I wanted to purchase vegetables, a market was quickly established on the beach; the sellers soon became so numerous, that good bargains were to be obtained; and when we quitted the shore, they were still flocking over the hills laden with the produce of their lands. Considerable difficulty was experienced in our payments, the islanders having no change; in fact, the common metal coin of China was not to be seen amongst them.

The whole male population of the island appeared to have hurried down, to satisfy, not only their eyes, but their sense of feeling. Every part of our dress was examined, —the buttons, the tails of our coats, the fineness of which appeared to excite great astonishment and to be much admired.

Finding it impossible to succeed in a trip inland, and the steward having completed his purchases, I returned to the ship, happy to escape this frowsy crowd.

Every Chinaman is frowsy, which I attribute to a paucity of white linen, their inner clothing being composed of coloured materials, and but rarely washed. The mandarins, with all their gorgeous apparel, are equally dirty in their under garments. I do not recollect ever having seen a Chinese performing his ablutions.

On the 21st, early in the morning, the ships were got under weigh, and we returned to Tong-Tchou-foo. We came to anchor in a small bay to the westward of the bluff point before spoken of, hoisted the boats out and sent them on shore for the purpose of embarking the bullocks which had been collected to meet our requisition. Captains G. Elliot and Eyres having landed for the purpose of having an interview with the mandarins, some slight delay took place, during which the fresh breeze which then was blowing rapidly increased to a gale, and, in con-

sequence, heavy rollers setting suddenly in, the Modeste's pinnace was capsized at her anchorage. The Volage's being a little further out, made sail, and succeeded in getting off shore.

About noon, Captain Elliot, in his whale-boat, was enabled to get through the surf, and passing under the ship's stern, relieved our anxiety for the crew of the pinnace, by informing us that they had all got safely to the shore, where they would remain with Captain Eyres until the gale abated. The mandarins civilly pitched tents for them, and supplied them liberally with provisions. In this instance they so far waived their usual jealousy, that they furnished Captain Eyres with a horse, and allowed him to take a short ride along the hills.

At half-past three P.M., the gale still continuing, the Modeste weighed in company with the Volage, and picked up a berth further off shore; for had we remained where we were, and parted in the night, we should have shared the fate of our poor pinnace, whose cable being cut through by the rocks,

went on shore, and was literally split in halves.

On the morning of the 22nd, the gale having subsided, we stood in shore to pick up Captain Eyres and the men, anchoring rather outside the berth we quitted yesterday.

Captain Eyres, by threatening the mandarins with a complaint to the viceroy, had prevailed upon them to promise they would send the cattle off; and the junks were already coming out with them on board. After breakfast I visited the wreck of the pinnace to see what could be saved; and having set the carpenters to work, amused myself with the natives, who began to assemble in great number, and by their curiosity, impeded them materially. However, getting my telescope from the boat, I formed a centre of attraction, round which they swarmed in crowds, and thereby afforded me almost as much amusement as my glass did the Chinese; for moving from one place to the other, which I could do amongst the rocks much faster than they in their thick shoes could, the whole

crowd would follow me, the young, the old, and the lame, for the sake of a *peep;* it was quite immaterial to the greater number, whether the glass was pointed at the clouds or at the shipping. That they could have the pleasure of looking through it was sufficient gratification. Getting tired of the crowd, I lent the glass to one of the most respectable looking of them, explaining to him how to adjust the focus; and he continued to amuse all those who pressed round him, and left us to pursue our work without further interruption.

My telescope had made me a universal favourite; and on returning to the boat, I found some old gentlemen had resolved to evince their good will by an impromptu meal. Having so lately breakfasted, I was not prepared to do justice to it, which I expressed to them by the most civil and expressive signs I could think of; at which my hospitable entertainers appeared to be much distressed. The dishes looked savoury and tempting; being served up in clean wooden trays and Chinese basins. It was evidently a quickly got up *déjeuné*, and might have

served for a dozen people. There were fowls split open and grilled, being browned with a good deal of art; others, again, stewed; another dish contained fowls' livers floating in oil, and which was especially brought to my notice. There were eggs with their embryo chickens, variously prepared; and a stew, which, for aught I know, might have been young puppies, consisted of very white and delicate-looking meat; and no doubt their puppies are very good, for they are exceedingly particular in the breed, which they rear for their tables, selecting only those that are white, and fattening them with meal as carefully as we do any of our domestic animals.

Poultry, vegetables, and fruit were brought for sale to the beach in great abundance, and were both cheap and good. A small unleavened cake appeared very common; they were about two inches in diameter, perfectly white, with a pink coloured stamp consisting of Chinese characters on the top. We found them a very good substitute for bread.

Having collected all that could be saved

of our once fine boat, I took leave of my hospitable entertainers, and shoved off. Just then an unhappy duck that had been purchased popped his head up above the gunwale of the boat, at which a Chinaman made a snatch, and caught it by the neck; but as the drake was securely tied to his mate, he could not get it out of the boat, and a shake of a boat-hook, with a look from the bowman, made Fokie quickly drop his expected prize, —the whole crowd, though about ten yards off, shrinking back at the mere threatening attitude of the seaman. But in common justice, I must add, this was the only attempt at theft which I saw on this part of the coast.

In the afternoon the junks were very busy bringing off the bullocks; and the wind falling almost to a calm, boats were dispatched from the shore to tow them out to us. These were evidently pressed for the purpose; soldiers and mandarins were seen compelling the crews to work. It was astonishing to observe the rate at which these boats towed the large junks, when it was seen that they had only a single scull over the stern. In

one of the largest of them I counted eight men, working a long straight oar. The system of sculling, which is practised universally in China, is a great improvement on the common English method of doing so. The fulcrum being a short iron pin, with a small round head, which fits into a hollow on the oar, thus making a ball and socket, by which means they reduce the friction to the least possible quantity. I have seen two and three sculls to the same boat, one on each quarter, and the other over the stern.

Our method of hoisting in the bullocks afforded the Chinese boatmen much amusement. It was simply a rope round the neck, with one of the fore legs passed under it. This prevents the rope from jamming sufficiently tight to strangle the animal, which is drawn up, and may be landed on the deck without a struggle. It is by far the best method I have seen for hoisting cattle into a ship.

We had been supplied at this place with one hundred and fifty bullocks, twenty sheep, many dozens of poultry, with flour, &c. The

bullocks were embarked solely for the use of the troops at Chusan, where they proved a most seasonable supply.

Paoupang had been on board the transport collecting different articles, which he intended as presents for the mandarins. From one of the transports he purchased a telescope. Captain Eyres gave him several tumblers and wine glasses,—all glassware being highly prized by the Chinese. You cannot make them a present they more highly value. A uniform sword, which he was most anxious to obtain for the head mandarin, we could not spare him. He suggested to Captain Elliot, that the mandarins would be much pleased by our chin-chining them; and as they had really been very civil in all our intercourse with them, the ships were accordingly dressed with the flags. But this must have had a direct contrary effect to that which was intended; for quickly all the boats and junks were ordered on shore by the mandarins, and a boat was sent off for Paoupang, the compradore; and when we came to consider it, we could not be much

surprised at the result, for a great display of flags is the way in which the Chinese express defiance and martial preparations, so that our intended compliment must by them have been considered as a threat. No doubt Paoupang, on landing, explained it to them; but this we had no opportunity of ascertaining, as we sailed at daylight on the morning of the 23rd. Having to visit the Island of Quelpert, we parted company with the Volage, and made all sail for that island.

On the morning of the 26th, we made an island, S. ½ E. nine or ten leagues. This was high land, with a flat, circular top, and was not laid down in any charts on board. We christened it "Strange Island," when it bore by compass, E.N.E. ten miles; the latitude was 34° 42′ N. longitude 125° 7′ E. At noon we saw Acest Island, S. by E., having a high, cone-like appearance; but we did not pass sufficiently near to distinguish if it was cultivated.

At 10 P.M., hauled to the wind for daylight. On the 27th, at 4, we bore up, and made sail. As the day broke, Quelpert ap-

peared close to us in the N.W. This island is large, and from a few miles inland gradually rises, until it terminates in a very lofty cone. The cultivation appears carried on in the Chinese system; but we had so little intercourse with the natives, that we knew nothing certain of their origin. On a small island on the south-east side, there were numerous cattle feeding; and having ascertained this, which was the occasion of our visit, we shaped a course for Chusan, flying along at about ten knots per hour.

On the 28th we rejoined the Volage and transport off Mouse Island, and on the 30th anchored in our old berth under the Elephant's Trunk.

On the 1st of October, her majesty's brig Cruizer sailed for India *vid* Macao, to carry the mail; thus affording us all a welcome opportunity for writing to our friends in dear England; a pleasure we had been debarred from for some months. At half-past ten we weighed to join the flag-ship at her anchorage at "Spithead;" but as we came in sight of the flag, the signal was made to close the

Blenheim, then anchored off "St. Helens," in company with which ship we were to proceed off Ning-po, there to demand the release of Mrs. Noble, the widow of the late master of the Kite; of Captain Anstruther, who had been kidnapped near Ting-hai on the 16th of September; and of Lieutenant Douglas, R.N., with the marines and crew of the late armed transport Kite.

In a former part of this Narrative, I alluded to the Kite as accompanying her majesty's ship Conway on a survey up the Yang-tse-kiang, then about to be commenced under the directions of Captain C. R. D. Bethune. The Kite was a vessel of about three hundred tons, fitted with two of the Wellesley's quarter-deck guns, having in addition to her lascar crew, six marines, with the same number of first-class boys. Lieutenant Douglas was placed in charge of her; and her master, Mr. Noble, received an acting order as a second master in her majesty's navy.

On the 10th of September, Captain Bethune thought it requisite to dispatch her to Chusan; and having cleared the sands at

the entrance of the river, it was considered by all on board that their future passage was free from danger. How futile were their calculations! for on the 15th, when running with a fair breeze, the vessel struck on a quicksand*, and almost as instantly went over on her broadside, with a most tremendous crash, precipitating all hands into the sea, and Mrs. Noble amongst the number; but her poor little infant being unfortunately in the cabin, was drowned, and Mr. Noble is supposed to have shared the same fate in an attempt to save his child, for he was never seen after the striking of the vessel.

As she thus lay with her masts and yards in the water, the crew on rising to the surface after their immersion, were enabled to get hold of them, and by their means climb up to the side of the vessel. Lieutenant Douglas, the chief mate, Mrs. Noble, and two boys, succeeded in getting into the boat, which they were obliged to cut clear of the wreck, the sea making a breach over them, and threatening them with momentary destruction. No sooner was she free, than the

* This shoal is not laid down on any of the charts.

current set her quickly from the wreck; and with their greatest exertions, having only two oars, they could not prevent it, but were soon swept out of sight of it; when letting go the boat's anchor, they brought up to await the change of tide, with a hope of being able to render some assistance to the poor fellows left behind.

Again were their efforts vain, and as they drifted at some distance past her, the whole hull appeared to have settled in the sand, the main-top alone appearing above the water. Early on the morning of the 16th, they were again driven in the direction of the wreck, but with as little means of communication as before; and on the return tide in the afternoon they passed it for the last time, as on the morning of the 17th not a vestige of the wreck could be seen; and it was evident that the poor fellows had been taken off the wreck by the Chinese, or swept by the overwhelming waters into eternity.

Thus had these five unhappy beings, one a helpless female, been for more than two days without sustenance,—knowing that they were

close to the shore of a cruel enemy's coast, without a sail, with only two oars, (one of which was washed away this very night,) to navigate their frail bark, driven backwards and forwards at the mercy of the tides, expecting every instant to be overwhelmed by the breakers around them! But aid was near when hope seemed to have deserted them. He, who is ever watching over his creatures, and who is ever able to save and deliver those who seek him as to his mysterious mercy may seem fit, was at that moment sending them assistance: a Chinese fishing-boat approached, and the good Samaritans on board of it shared with them what they had; true, it was only dry rice and water, but it was given with a willing heart and free hand. A piece of old matting was also added for the purpose of making a sail.

They were now comparatively comfortable, hoping to get to Chusan in the evening. A pumpkin floating by,—probably one from their unfortunate ship,—was shared amongst the party. On the 18th, they fell in with another boat, and requested to be taken to

Chusan, for doing which they should be liberally rewarded. They promised accordingly but instead of doing so towed their boat into a canal, where the inhabitants on the adjoining shore treated them with kindness and gave them some boiled rice, at the same time promising soon to convey them where they desired to go to. Instead of which they betrayed them to a mandarin and a party of soldiers.

Where shall I find language sufficiently strong to execrate the beings that inflicted the following cruelties on wrecked and starving fellow-creatures. No sooner had they been seized, than to prevent their running away, they were bastinadoed immediately above the knee, or almost indeed upon it. They would have treated Mrs. Noble in the same brutal and still more indecent manner had it not been for the spirited conduct of Mr. Douglas, notwithstanding which she received several blows. Chains were then put around their necks, and they were hurried, or rather dragged to a large city, through the streets of which they were

paraded, subjected to the hootings and howlings of the assembled savages. They were then taken to a joss-house, where one of the soldiers forcibly wrenched Mrs. Noble's wedding-ring from her finger. Lieutenant Douglas's hands were here lashed behind him, and he was in that condition secured to a post. Mrs. Noble, the mate, and one boy, were then dragged on about twenty miles further, being exhibited in several towns through which they passed; and no doubt from what afterwards appeared, Mrs. Noble was represented as sister to the queen of the barbarians, who had been taken prisoner by these marauders, for valiant soldiers I cannot call them.

At night they stopped at another depôt of gods, where they were furnished with a small quantity of food and clothes; the chain which had been put round their necks being fastened to the wall of their prison. Here they were detained two days, and were allowed to perform their ablutions for the first time; their descriptions were accurately taken down, and they themselves constantly

exposed to the gaze of the rabble. Mrs. Noble was taken to be looked at by the head mandarin's wife and daughter; and one would have imagined that the softer sex would have shown her some compassion in her suffering and distressed state. No! if it were possible, they treated her with more contumely than her captors had done.

At the expiration of the two days they were led out into the court where stood three cages about three feet high, two feet six inches long, by fourteen inches in breadth. The entrance to these cruel prisons was by a trap-door on the top, through which they were forced, the end of their chain being locked to the cover. A bamboo was then thrust between the bars, and under the top; in this painful position were they carried by two men from town to town, to be exhibited, like wild beasts, to the assembled multitudes; but as if all this was not sufficient suffering, they were loaded with heavy irons and chains on the legs and arms, Mrs. Noble being allowed for the present to dispense with the latter ones. The cages were then

at length placed in boats, and after proceeding along a canal for three nights and two days, they arrived at Ning-po, never having been permitted to quit their cages for any purpose during that period.

Lieutenant Douglas and the other boy had been conveyed in a similar manner, but by a different route, thus affording the inhabitants of a greater extent of country a peep at the barbarians.

The crew, as it was hoped might be the case, had been taken off the wreck by some Chinese boats, and were also prisoners at this place, Ning-po. Several of these poor fellows died during their imprisonment, from the hardships they had to endure.

After their arrival at Ning-po, Mrs. Noble was supplied with gay Chinese female apparel; a small and very dirty room was appropriated to her, but devoid of furniture with the exception of her cage, which became her bed at night, and her carriage by day, for into it she was always thrust, which was the case with the whole party, when commanded to dine with the mandarins,

which at first was frequently the case until their curiosity became satiated, when both the officers and lady were left more to themselves. The questions that the mandarins would ask on these occasions were most ridiculous. They were very anxious to know what relations they were to the Queen of England, and if Mrs. Noble was not her sister; and would believe nothing to the contrary. Their irons were still kept on, and it was not until the 25th of October they were released from them.

The seamen and marines were most cruelly used, being always kept in heavy irons, allowed no exercise, but confined in a dark dirty prison, with hardly space to turn in. The poor fellows who paid the debt of nature in this horrible hole, were, though wasted to skeletons, kept in their irons even to their last moments,—notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of Lieutenant Douglas, who was debarred from seeing his men, when it was found what a deep interest he took in everything that concerned them.

It had been arranged by their friends at

Ting-hai, with some of the lower mandarins at Ning-po, that for a certain sum of money the officers should be allowed to escape,—in fact, safely landed at Chusan; but this they positively refused to accede to, unless their men were to accompany them; well knowing that their escape would be visited on those left behind. A secret correspondence was carried on with the head-quarters at Chusan, until the 22nd of February, 1841; when, agreeably with the treaty concluded at Canton between Captain Elliot and Keshen, they were summoned before the mandarins, and informed that they were immediately to be sent to Chin-hai, and from thence to Chusan. Their congratulations to one another were unbounded at the prospect of a release after a captivity of five months and some few days.

Chairs were now provided for them, and they were conveyed to the entrance of the Ning-po river, where they were received courteously by the mandarins, and intrusted with a message from Commissioner Elepoo to the commanding officer at Chusan, that he

must get the ships away as speedily as possible, as they had great numbers of troops ready to take possession on their quitting.

Captain P. Anstruther, before alluded to as one of the prisoners at Ning-po, had been in the practice of walking about the country in the neighbourhood of Ting-hai, for the purpose of sketching and surveying, and was apparently much liked by the inhabitants, who frequently gathered round him, while he, by signs and by laughing, would hold a merry intercourse with them.

On the 16th of September he left the camp in the early part of the forenoon, accompanied by an old lascar servant, who carried a spade for the purpose of erecting flag-staves on the hills, to assist in taking angles for his survey. Having ascended a pass between the hills to the westward of the city, he placed a flag on a knoll, taking several angles from thence; after which he continued to walk down the western side of the pass; but soon perceived that he had gone too far for his safety, and that he and his servant were followed by a number of armed

Chinese. Taking no apparent notice of them, he turned to the left with an intention of ascending the hill,—but he had scarcely attempted to do so, when his old lascar was furiously attacked by a Chinese soldier, armed with a hoe. The poor old man ran to his master for assistance, who, seizing the spade from his hand, quickly drove the assailant back, when the whole body made a charge with formidable double-pronged spears. There was now nothing left but to run for it; Captain Anstruther bidding the old lascar to make the best of his way up the hill, hoping by that means to save the poor fellow's life; but he would not hear of quitting his master.

Their pursuers closing round them, Capt. Anstruther saw that his only chance now was to fight his way through a long valley which led to the city. He therefore proceeded slowly through it, now and then turning to keep his pursuers in check. By the beating of gongs and the shouting of his assailants all the inhabitants of the valley became aroused, and a strong party being thus assem-

bled at a gorge, escape became almost hopeless. At a turn in the path, Captain A. found it necessary to charge a party assembled there with sticks and stones, in doing which he was separated from his poor old servant, who was quickly knocked down. His master, though surrounded by numbers, used every effort to fight his way to his assistance, but in vain; and he had the pain of seeing the villains pounding the poor old man's head with large stones, which must have shortly ended his life*.

Flight now became utterly impossible; and Captain Anstruther, who expected a similar fate to that which had befallen his servant, attacked, and determined to make the rascals pay dearly for his life. Numbers of course prevailed, and he was at length stretched on the ground by a heavy blow on the head, when the villains rushing on him, bound his hands behind him and his ankles together, thrusting a large gag into his

* Captain Anstruther, who is as generous as he is brave, has sent to school and pensioned the sons of this faithful old man.

mouth; when they commenced bambooing him over the knee caps; thus effectually, if the ropes had not previously done it, preventing him from running away. He was then put in a chair and carried to a village about ten miles from the Sapper's Point, where he was detained until dusk; his tormentors constantly repeating the word Ningpo, and making signs that he would have his head cut off when he got there*.

The following day he was landed at that city, and being carried before the district magistrates, was questioned as to the number of men, ships, &c., at Chusan. After this, having heavy irons put on his legs, he was sent to the prison, where, as soon as he arrived, an iron ring was secured round his neck, hand-cuffs were put on him, locked to the end of a stick about a foot long, which was

* It is a singular coincidence, that the night but one prior to his capture, Captain Anstruther had aroused the whole artillery camp with his cries, when, on proceeding to his quarters, he was found fast asleep, and on being awakened, said he had been dreaming that the Chinese were carrying him off, tied hands and feet, on a pole, and gagged, and within sight of the camp.

again fastened to the ring round his neck. He was then forced to get into a wooden cage, the height and length of which to the outer part of the bars was one yard each way, the breadth being two feet. When he was in the cage, a chain was fastened from the side of it to the irons on his legs, and for further security at night, the goaler with a light always slept close by his cage; and thus was he kept for upwards of four weeks.

The day after his arrival he was again taken before the magistrate, and questioned much about the steamers, the captured compradore being the interpreter. Captain Anstruther offered to draw them a representation of one, with which his examiner was so much pleased, that he gave him and the compradore a dinner; and he was also furnished with hot water, and allowed to wash the blood and dirt off his person.

Captain Anstruther, by his skill in drawing, so far gained the hearts of the mandarins, that he was soon allowed a new cage, *actually three feet six inches by two feet one inch.* This was comparative comfort.

After his powers as an artist had been discovered, he was constantly requested to employ his talents to depict every variety of article or animal which was foreign to them; and many of his sketches are supposed to have met the imperial eye.

It is to be hoped, that this talented officer will gratify the world by an account of what he has witnessed in China. I know no person more equal to the task.

CHAPTER VIII.

NING-PO AND CHUSAN.

Proceed to Ning-po—Captain Elliot applies for release of Prisoners—Their better Treatment—Chinese Cavalry—Return to "Sp'thead"—Yang-tse-kiang—Cruise of the Conway—Death of Mr. Harvey—Algerine at Chapoo—Bravery of Mandarin—Loss of Indian Oak—Nimrod's Cruise—Loo-choo—Manners of its Inhabitants—Seaman's Grave—Quelpert—Sickness amongst our Troops—Chusan—Ting-hai—Taoutow and Joss-house hill—Position of Troops—Robberies—Chinese Coffin—Debasing of Coin—Temples—Arsenals—Arms—The Six Boards—Burning the Archives.

Darkly of old through distant nations famed:
One eastward curving holds his crooked way,
One to the west gives his swoll'n tide to stray;
Declining southward many a land they lave,
And widely swelling roll the sea-like wave,
Till the twin offspring of the mountain sire
Both in the ——— deep engulphed expire.—*The Lusiad.*

On the 2nd of October, 1840, the Blenheim and Modeste weighed from their anchorage at "St. Helens," for the purpose of proceeding to Ning-po. On clearing Bell

Island, these ships were joined by the Volage and Alligator, and we anchored about 3· 30′ P.M., within four miles of the entrance of the Ning-po river; the blockade of which had been comparatively easy to our vessels, as the Chinese had sunk vessels filled with stones, and thereby blocked up the entrance of it. Chin-hai is a large-walled town at the entrance of this river, a branch of which appeared to run through it. Numerous masts of war and merchant-junks were seen over the wall,—the former easily distinguished by their banners and flags,—behind which rose a high and apparently inaccessible hill, with a joss-house and fort on its summit; the hills to the left were covered with encampments of troops. On the whole, it may be said that the scenery about Ning-po formed the prettiest landscape we had seen in China.

On the 3rd, Captain Elliot arrived in the Atalanta steamer, and had an interview with the authorities to negotiate the release of Mrs. Noble and the prisoners; but his application was evaded by their stating that the

capture had already been reported at Pekin, and therefore they could not be released without orders from the court. They however promised that they should receive good treatment, and gave permission that their clothes should be sent to them: at the same time they allowed them to communicate with their friends by letters written in Chinese; and it was hoped a truce would soon be established with the Ning-po authorities. A body of about two hundred cavalry attended the high officers to the beach: they were the first that we had seen in China. The horses were strong, but small; the men armed with bows and arrows, with handsome appointments; upon the whole, they formed a very respectable appearance. The saddle is clumsy, and the rider, using a very short stirrup, has rather a huntsman's than a soldier's seat.

It had blown hard all night from the north-east; we had driven considerably, and the ships had all been labouring much, this anchorage being completely open to the north and north-east winds. At noon the

squadron weighed per signal, and stood up to a small island called "Just in the Way." This island is about mid-way between Chusan and Ning-po roads, and affords a safe and sheltered anchorage, from which the signals shown on board the flag-ship could be easily made out.

Some days were passed at this spot, the weather being fine, with moderate northerly and north-easterly winds, admitting of the usual routine of the ship going on without interruption; but we were getting very tired of it, and were not at all sorry, when, on the 9th, the recall for the Modeste was seen flying on board the flag-ship. We therefore quickly proceeded to join the admiral at "Spithead." The Melville during our absence had been hove down, and was rapidly preparing for sea in the inner harbour. The Conway had also returned with her squadron from the Yang-tse-kiang, and the Nimrod had arrived from Loo-choo, where she had been to bring off the crew of the Royal Oak transport, which vessel had been wrecked there on her passage from Chusan to India. Before pro-

ceeding with the narrative, it may be well to give a short sketch of the proceedings of those two ships.

The Yang-tse-kiang, or Child of the Ocean, is one of the most extensive rivers in the world, second only to the Mississippi and Amazon. It takes its rise in Thibet, and ere reaching the sea, passes over an extent of 2,700 miles of country in its circuitous route, relieving the Lakes Toong-ting and Poyang, of their superfluous waters. When passing Nan-kin, it runs with a continued ebb, and with such force, as to require a strong breeze to sail against it. In its downward course numerous islands are formed, which are constantly increasing from the quantity of soil suspended in its waters.

The Conway had been employed in surveying the mouths of this mighty river, and her indefatigable captain succeeded in discovering a passage by which line-of-battle ships might be conducted through the sands which guard its entrance. The Conway did not proceed above sixty miles up, and even then the ebb was found to run eight hours,

and the flood at neap tides was scarcely perceptible. The appearance of the ship created a great sensation; and the natives were apparently busy throwing up fortifications, which, being examined with the telescope, proved nothing but mats extended on poles, with painted ports to give them the appearance of forts; these poor ignorant people not having the least idea that their real character could be so easily distinguished.

During the time the dispute was going on between the late Lord Napier and the Chinese authorities, our countrymen at Canton were one morning astonished at seeing the shore apparently bristling with a hundred cannon; but on examining them with their glasses, they had put up in the front of a mat-fort a range of earthen jars, with their open end pointed towards the river. We found that it was a common practice to stick a large round piece of wood into the muzzle of a three-pounder, painted white with a black spot as large as the bore of a thirty-two pounder, and as the white muzzle was continued along the line of guns it became

very difficult by merely looking at them to discover the deception.

The Island of Tsung ming at the entrance, lies nearly east and west, and divides the mouth of the river. It is long and low, evidently the formation of deposits from the river, its alluvial soil being very productive. It is densely populated and highly cultivated, having on it an abundance of cattle.

On the 25th of September, three boats from the Conway and Algerine were sent to this island for the purpose of purchasing fresh provisions and vegetables for the sick on board, of whom there were very many; and the whole crew were suffering much from having been several months on salt provisions. The officer in command of the boats was directed, if the natives should refuse to sell them such necessary articles, to send out foraging parties to procure them.

On landing they were divided into three detachments, each being in charge of a commissioned officer. As they advanced, the peasantry fled before them, carrying off their women and children; but on friendly signs

being made to them they were soon induced to return to their houses. Finding no bullocks were to be obtained in the neighbourhood, Lieutenant Coryton advanced with his party in the hope of collecting some poultry. On an armed body of Chinese approaching them with evidently hostile intentions, the marines were ordered to fire, and one of the enemy was seen to drop, when his companions quickly dispersed, hiding themselves in the deep dykes with which this island is intersected.

Lieutenant Coryton's party meeting no further opposition, collected a considerable quantity of stock, with which they returned to the boats, when, having deposited them, a native informed them by signs that some buffaloes might be procured at a clump of large trees in the distance; in which direction, accompanied by their apparently kind friend, the party proceeded. Having advanced a short way their guide suddenly stopped, pointing to a large junk shored up on her side, with her keel turned towards them, and indicated by signs that soldiers were behind it, after which he made his escape.

They had selected a remarkably strong position for their novel field-work, having placed it in a paddy-field with a broad ditch, knee deep in mud between them and Lieutenant Coryton's party, a long narrow pass leading to their front without furnishing a particle of cover to an attacking force; while a second junk flanked the causeway. Nothing daunted, the gallant little band advanced to the nullah, or ditch, and opened a heavy fire of musketry on the junk, hoping by that means to dislodge the party behind it; but it proving to be bullet-proof, the assailants received a smart fire in return from those entrenched. Lieutenant Coryton gave the order to charge, when at that instant Mr. Harvey fell, exclaiming that he was wounded in the stomach. This caused a slight delay while that gentleman was being sent to the rear.

A Chinaman now advanced to the front of the junk, and covering the marine officer with his matchlock attempted to fire, which this officer no sooner perceived than he prepared to return the compliment; but, strange as it may seem, after two or three attempts,

neither of the pieces would go off; when the order to charge being repeated, the party dashed through the nullah, and quickly carried the position, the flying enemy leaving two off their party dead upon the field. The parties were now united, but the Chinese shewed no inclination to renew the fight. The Conway had one man killed and Mr. Harvey mortally wounded, who expired on board his ship on Sunday, the 27th of September, much regretted by all his shipmates, by whom he was highly and deservedly esteemed.

The Algerine, a few days afterwards, while examining the deep bay of Hang-tchou, stood into the harbour of Chapoo, the great emporium of the Japanese trade, from the many batteries of which a fire was immediately opened on the little brig. Lieutenant Mason gallantly placed his vessel alongside of them, and after a cannonade of three hours, effectually silenced them, remaining at his anchorage for an hour to see if they were inclined to renew the engagement, which the

Chinese not doing, he got under weigh, and rejoined his squadron.

During the whole of the engagement the mandarin in chargé of the forts paraded the walls, making gestures of defiance at the brig, and encouraging his men, while the shot were falling round him in every direction. This was one of the individual cases of courage sometimes met with amongst the Chinese.

Her Majesty's ship Nimrod, Commander Barlow, which ship had arrived at Chusan from England shortly after the admiral had sailed from that harbour for the Imperial Sea, was dispatched on the 5th of September, in company with her majesty's brig Cruizer, to the Loo-choo Islands, in consequence of a mate of the Indian Oak transport having arrived in that ship's long boat, and announced her wreck on those islands. He reported that they had been most humanely treated by those kind-hearted islanders, who met them on the shore, carried them to a house, and saved every particle of the wreck

which came on shore, not appropriating so much as a nail to their own use without permission. Here is a lesson for some of our own countrymen, who may learn from these poor unenlightened islanders the duties of good Samaritans.

On the 15th of September, the ships made the Islands of Turina and Auckrina, the former of which has a most remarkable appearance, much like the Giant's Causeway, on the coast of Ireland. Light winds with a strong current against them, compelled the ships to anchor; nor were they enabled to get into "Barnpool," off the town of Napakiang, until the following day, of which Lieutenant Kendall, to whom I am indebted for these remarks, observes, that though the scenery in "Barnpool" was more beautiful, and the land more highly cultivated, than he had observed in any part of China, it certainly did not equal in appearance its namesake near Plymouth.

Shortly after the vessels were anchored they were visited by numerous natives, who brought off water and provisions in great

abundance, for which they refused to receive the slightest remuneration. "It was," observes Lieutenant Kendall, "the only place I ever visited, where such a custom prevailed."

The crew of the late Royal Oak were most kindly treated, and amply provided with every necessary by these warm-hearted people. The natives had nearly completed a junk of about 150 tons burden, which they were purposely building out of the remains of the ship, that they might return as much as they possibly could of the Indian Oak to Queen Victoria. It being found that the junk would carry all the party, the Cruizer was sent back with the intelligence to Chusan.

Notwithstanding all their kindness, there was a degree of innate jealousy about them that could not be overcome. The house in which the castaways had been lodged was inclosed by a fence, outside of which they were not allowed to move; nor would they permit Captain Barlow or any of his officers to advance a step off the beach.

On one occasion, after the officers had

been bathing, they were shown the tomb of one of the late seamen of the Alceste, who had died during the visit of that ship to these islands, at the time she conveyed Lord Amherst to China.

The tomb was situated in a very picturesque grove of fir trees, near a temple surrounded by mausolea of the natives. These kind beings preserved the spot perfectly free from weeds, and had planted flowers around the grave, keeping it in the highest order; but nothing could prevail upon them to allow any of the party to go beyond this spot: to prevent which unarmed parties of ten and twelve were stationed in different places; so that if the young gentlemen succeeded in evading one party of watchers, their anticipations of a ramble were quickly stopped, by stumbling on another. On such occasions, the natives, in the most quiet and gentle manner, would take them by the arms, and lead them back, laughing all the time at the attempt made to elude them.

The men are low in stature, but well formed and handsome, their colour being a

dark copper, with teeth remarkable for their regularity and great whiteness, and having a very tranquil black eye, which gave to the whole countenance a peculiarly placid and intelligent expression. Their dress resembled that of the Chinese, with the usual accompaniment of fan and pipe; but instead of the monkey-like tail, the hair is gathered up, and formed into a handsome knot at the top of the head, and secured by two long kinds of bodkins, one of which was usually ornamented at the top with the imitation of a flower. The chiefs were distinguished by these bodkins being of silver, while the lower orders had them of brass.

No women were seen, and all inquiries about them were answered by assurances that they were all very ugly,—an assertion which the beauty of the men certainly disproved. They added it was not the custom for them to be seen by strangers, at whom they would be much frightened, but they always endeavoured to turn the subject off. Not a warlike weapon of any description was seen during the Nimrod's stay. Harmony and

good-will prevailed throughout this peaceful spot, where punishment was unknown; a grave look or a tap of the fan sufficing for everything. It is wonderful that they have not yet been contaminated.

During the Nimrod's stay she was supplied with everything that she required; all payment being refused. Captain Barlow presented them therefore, in the name of her majesty, with a telescope and some books, amongst which were Bibles and Testaments.

The junk being completed, and all the stores which had been saved from the wreck embarked, the Nimrod, accompanied by the Folly, which name the junk now bore, sailed on the 27th, on her return for Chusan, much to the delight of these happy hospitable islanders; but the Nimrod, owing to the bad sailing qualities of her consort, had a much longer passage than she expected. For a full account of these kind-hearted people, I would recommend my readers to Captain Basil Hall's very interesting and entertaining narrative of them.

Before quitting the Nimrod's cruise, I will

give a short account, though I thereby somewhat forestall my narrative, of a subsequent trip which that ship made to the island of Quelpert, for the purpose of procuring bullocks for the troops. She left Chusan on this duty, accompanied by the Houghly transport, on the 16th of October; and, after rather a boisterous passage, arrived on the 29th, and anchored between Cattle and Modeste Island, the former of which was covered with herds, though no inhabitants could be distinguished. At daylight the next morning, the boats were dispatched for the purpose of catching cattle, being well provided with ropes for that purpose, and being attended by an armed party in case of any attack.

Lieutenant Kendall thus describes the method used for taking the cattle:—"A party, fifty strong, was formed in one line about ten feet apart; and ropes, consisting of stud-sail haulyards, extended from right to left, which the men held as high as their breasts, keeping it taught. This line reached nearly across the island, by which means the herd were driven down to a

point of land, where they faced their pursuers, bellowing and tearing up the ground with their feet. At length, headed by a tremendous black bull, they charged the centre of the line. The extremities of the rope being kept taught, the foremost ones fell over it, when a rush was made on them, and before they could recover their legs, they were firmly tied with spun yarn. In this manner from five to six were caught at a *haul*, when having a rope secured round the horns, and another to one of their hind legs, the lashings were cast off, and they were worked down to the boat. It was a most amusing employment; and many a tumble and capsize occurred during the day; fortunately no accident happened. We tried hard to get our friend the chief, but he always escaped. He charged once the place where poor Fox* was standing, who broke the butt of a musket over his nose, at which he shook his head, but continued his career.

* Lieutenant C. Fox was Senior Lieutenant of the Nimrod. He afterwards fell on the heights behind Canton, in May, 1841.

Two or three were knocked down by the men of the 18th, who, when these animals charged right on them, dexterously hit them between the eyes with stones."

On the opposite shore and main land of Quelpert the natives were assembling in great force, numerous tents being pitched. Among them was one, the gorgeous colours of which pointed it out as belonging to some high chieftain; and with the glasses it was observed that no one was allowed to stop or pass before it, without taking off his hat or cap, and bowing.

These natives kept making signs to the Nimrod's people to land, accompanied by threatening gesticulations, beating of gongs, and blowing of horns, which lasted until about eight o'clock, when they all lay down gazing on the ships, relieving the *tædium vitæ* by an occasional shout or blast on their horns.

Captain Barlow, accompanied by the interpreter, proceeded with the gig and jolly-boat, having a flag of truce flying, to communicate with the people on shore; on approaching which a boat pulled out and made signs for

them to land. On this the boats were pulled close to and alongside the native chief, who then got into the gig; but on wanting him to go on board the Nimrod, he made signs that he would get his head cut off, and therefore begged to decline the honour intended him. Several "chops" passed between this chief and the interpreter* on the object of the visit. The old chief then landed, and left the crowd, which was assembled on the beach, who soon began to show and handle their arms; in consequence of which the boats were shoved a little way off from the shore.

After some slight delay another attempt was made to make them understand what was

* Though the dialect of all the eastern islands and the Corea differs from the Chinese, as it even often does on the Chinese coast, still the character in writing is the same. So that a communication can always be carried on if both parties write. With their fans they will often describe the character in the air. Mr. Ellis relates, in his account of Lord Amherst's embassy, that when some mandarins were entertained at his lordship's table, one of them, in the heat of conversation, dipped his finger in his neighbour's wine-glass, and drew the desired character on the table.

wanted. On which a man, apparently a chief, made a dash at the flag of truce, which he would have succeeded in carrying off had not the bowman hooked him with the boat-hook, which caused him to let it go. All hope of an amicable communication being at an end, the boats returned to their ships.

During the two days they remained at this anchorage, fifty-seven bullocks were captured and embarked on board the transport. The natives, with numerous boats, and "armed to the teeth," made several demonstrations of intending to attack the party employed on shore; but having to cross the fire of the corvette, on their passage to the island, a shot or two from her quickly deterred them from their object.

Many tanks were observed on the island, hewed out of the rock; and as no springs could be found, it was surmised that these were supplied from the main land. The natives stated, that the bullocks were the private property of the king, and for that reason they could receive no payment for them. Their dresses appeared to be of the

same shape as the Chinese, but their hair was worn in a fashion similar to that of the Loochooans, whose gentle manners they certainly did not in any way inherit.

It coming on to blow very hard, the ships were prepared for sea; but from delays on board the transport, they were not enabled to quit their anchorage until the next day, when the Houghly had to slip her cable, and thus the ships succeeded in getting out from their very insecure situation.

During the absence of the Modeste from Chusan, great sickness had prevailed amongst the troops. Between three and four hundred had been interred, and about one thousand five hundred were in the hospitals. The gallant Cameronians were reduced to a perfect skeleton, and the brave 47th were scarcely in a better condition.

No doubt this was mainly to be attributed to the want of fresh and wholesome provisions, predisposing the constitution of the men to the agues and fevers epidemical in this place; for we find the sickness comparatively mild amongst the officers, who had

means of living on a more generous diet. The season was also said by the natives to be a peculiarly unhealthy one, and much sickness prevailed amongst the Chinese. The troops encamped on the hills or high grounds suffered the most. It appeared that the miasma ascended from the lower ground and lodged on these hills, while the air in the valley was clear and light. The Madras artillery, who were encamped in the centre of a paddy-field, lost very few men. Some few foraging parties were sent out, but from the want of proper interpreters, they must have been considered more in the light of plunderers, than accredited agents of the authorities.

Much of the inactivity which existed at Chusan must be attributed to the sickness that prevailed amongst the troops; for there could be no other reason why strong bodies of troops were not advanced into the interior of the island, by which means most ample supplies might have been obtained, and the very excitement of motion would have gone far to have checked the sickness, and at once

have removed the healthy from contemplating the graves and bodies of their dead and dying comrades.

The seasonable supply of cattle which was brought by the Pei-Ho squadron was most joyfully hailed, and the admiral became actively employed in putting things on a better footing. Foraging parties from both services were now chiefly sent out, and obtained from four to six bullocks per day: in one valley in particular they were always certain of finding some, the admiral having directed that the price asked for them should be paid, thereby to encourage the natives to *put their cattle in our way:* which was actually the case; for they feared to sell them to us, least they should be informed against and punished by the mandarins as soon as the British force should quit the island. Therefore when foraging parties were seen approaching, they always made a *fruitless* attempt to drive their bullocks away; but some how or other they never succeeded, leaving the valley with dollars instead of beasts, from fifteen to twenty being the price

paid for each bullock, double their value, but cheap to us.

The Island of Chusan* or Chowsan, on which the British had a factory in 1700, is a miniature likeness of a vast chain of mountains, small streams flowing from its central heights passing between the hills, which separate as they approach the sea, forming wide and extensive valleys where boundary walls and embankments form large alluvial plains. That in which the city of Ting-hai is situated has an embankment facing the sea of full two miles in extent. This extensive plain continues from three to four miles into the gorge of the hills, and is principally

* Chusan is fifty-one miles and a half in circumference, twenty-one long, and ten and a half broad, and forms part of the Ting-hai-Heën. Heën is the smallest division of a province, in which the presiding officer has the power of government. In this Heen the whole of the Chusan group north and south are included, the Kewshan islands being also attached to it. The population of Chusan may be estimated at about 280,000, as, from reports in the public offices, it appears to have 40,000 houses on it, which, at seven inhabitants per house, gives the above number; and, as far as I could judge, the inmates average about that number.

under rice cultivation, though cotton, maize, beans, bringalls, and many vegetables are grown in small patches. Every spot on the slope of the hills capable of cultivation is covered with yams and sweet potatoes, while the more barren parts are used as the last resting-place of the inhabitants,—a custom that I believe prevails generally through China. In the upper part of this valley many kind of trees flourish, adding much to the beauty of the scene.

Through this valley a large stream runs from the eastward, and ultimately passes into the sea; about one mile before it does so, there is a sluice, by closing which a large quantity of water is directed into the various canals that intersect this valley, forming an easy means of irrigation and communication.

The spot where the sluice is situated has become of considerable importance, it being the point nearest to the city, which heavy laden boats can approach at high water; several shops and buildings are situated in this neighbourhood, and a good stone bridge crosses the stream. Many other bridges

may be seen in this valley, some of which are single slabs of granite, from ten to twelve feet in length and four in breadth, having a support under the centre of the slab. The whole space of these flat lands is generally covered with water, or in such a damp muddy state, as to render it out of the question to attempt to cross the fields; so that the passenger must confine himself to the narrow causeways by which they are divided, and these seldom exceed three or four feet in breadth, the centres of which are flagged with granite, affording a dry and comfortable foot-path, though, from the Indian file in which you are obliged to advance, conversation is effectually stopped.

The city of Ting-hai is situated in this fertile valley of Yung-tung, which has just been described, and is about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. It is of an irregular pentagonal form, environed by a stone wall about three miles in extent. This wall is twenty-two feet in height and fifteen in thickness; four feet of the above height forming the parapet, which is two feet

through. Twenty-two square towers, placed at irregular distances, defend the walls. Four gates, answering to the cardinal points of the compass, give admission to the city. Each gate is flanked by two towers, and supported by an outer gate, defences at right angles protecting the inner one.

Round four sides of this pentagonal, and about thirty feet from the walls, there is a canal thirty-three feet broad. The fifth side is formed by a steep hill, up which the wall extends, a large bastion being formed on the top of it. The wall continues along the ridge of this hill, the outer sides of which are precipitous, when it again descends and unites to the western end of the southern face.

From the canal a branch passes into the city through a water-gate, and intersects it in every direction; thus affording an easy means of conveyance and communication to the citizens, but forming at the same time in many places large squares of stagnant water, which, in the hot weather, become very

offensive, and add to the many other causes of malaria existing in this filthy city.

The streets are narrow, ill-constructed, and dirty, having sewers running down the centre of them, which discharge themselves into the canals. These sewers are covered over with large slabs of stone, and for want of cleaning, had become extremely unpleasant. Latterly coolies were pressed, and being formed into gangs, attended by policemen, were obliged to clean them out, for which labour however they were paid. Every other vacant space or corner in the streets was occupied by immense earthenware jars, being receptacles for every kind of filth; animal and vegetable matter of every description being deposited within them for the purpose of manuring the fields within the walls, a considerable extent of ground on the eastern side of the inhabited part being devoted to the cultivation of rice.

The houses were for the most part built of wood, which was beautifully varnished; but the temples and principal buildings were con-

structed of brick or stone plastered over with a kind of gypsum, being mostly surrounded with a plain wall. On my first ramble through this city the scene appeared most desolate: the inhabitants had nearly all forsaken their houses, the doors of which, in hundreds of cases, were standing open. On entering these dwellings little met the view except beautiful specimens of carved work in wood, with which this city abounded; but cleanliness had not been attended to; and these desolate and dirty houses with the deserted street reminded one of a plague-struck city.

From the southern gate a straight road led down to Taoutow, the seaport or suburb of the city; numerous lanes, leading down to the wharfs and jetties, intersect this road, which, passing on the western side of the joss-house hill, terminates in a large square platform well flagged, on which the troops first landed. The joss-house hill is about 200 feet in height, and about eight hundred yards from the city, which it completely commands. On its southern side is a large temple or joss-house, which is

approached from the square beneath by a handsome flight of stone steps. Had this spot been properly fortified and well defended it would have cost us many valuable lives to have taken it. The greater part of the suburb was composed of shops and stores. Several very extensive shamsoo distilleries were also found here, which spirit appears to be a staple of this island. Along the shore were large and well supplied timber yards, the principal part of which is brought from the main, these islands affording only an indifferent kind of fir.

After the occupation of Ting-hai, the 26th Cameronians were encamped on the hill within the city walls. The 18th Royal Irish occupied the suburbs and joss-hous hill, the 49th remaining on board the ships; but shortly afterwards they were disembarked, and encamped near the sappers, who were on a point to the westward of the city, which commanded Junk Pass. The Bengal volunteers occupied high land at a little distance outside the north wall, while the Madras artillery, with their guns, were encamped

in the paddy fields, surrounded by an arm of the canal.

When the troops first entered Ting-hai scarcely a soul was to be seen. Thousands had left the city, but many families remained shut up in their houses. When they found that the troops were peaceable and quiet, they gradually showed themselves, and the rabble speedily commenced a system of plunder; and goods from the deserted houses were carried out of the city night and day. The commandant was requested to prevent this by giving directions that nothing should be allowed to pass the gate. Orders to this effect were at first refused, on the plea that the inhabitants ought to come and look after their own affairs; and thus these disregarders of *meum* and *tuum* were allowed to carry on a most prosperous game of spoliation, everything rapidly disappearing before their light fingers. No shops were open, and had this continued the city would soon have been empty; orders were therefore at length given to stop the robbers at the gates, and not to allow them to climb over the walls.

The remedy now became worse than the disease: honest men were stopped with the thieves; for who was to distinguish between them. Goods out of number accumulated at the guard-house, and the magistrate's office was besieged by claimants to recover their property, who, on getting an order for it, helped themselves most liberally, taking very good care to make up for all previous losses; and rarely, if ever, did the true owner become possessed of what was justly his. Coffins, notwithstanding the order, were allowed to pass, until the notice of the sentries was attracted by the quantities of dead relations, whose bodies were carried out of the town, when their curiosity prompted them to examine one of these pretended repositories of the dead, which proved to be full of rolls of silk, crape, and other valuables.

The Chinese do not put their departed friends into large holes in the earth, but place the coffin on it; when it is either covered with matting, earth, or a tomb is erected over it, many of which were seen much resembling the common tombs in Eng-

land; but these generally appeared to be of great age. The coffin is formed of wood, about four inches in thickness; the upper and lower edges of the sides are deeply curved, the ends being fitted in on the same plan, which gives to this last resting-place a handsome and substantial appearance.

The coffin-artifice failing, other methods were resorted to by the ever prolific minds of the Chinese. Several met their death from the sentries, while trying to force their way by them. One aged rogue, overladen with plunder, sunk in the canal; many received the penalty of their crimes from the people whom they were attempting to rob. One fellow, in particular, was found tied to a post in the market-place so tightly bound, that the blood oozed out from his hands and arms, and his eyes were starting from their sockets. Another was brought to the magistrate's office, who had been thus treated by his captor,—a literary graduate, and it was two hours before he recovered the use of his speech. This learned character seemed much astonished, and could not at all understand

why he should be accused of cruelty, having, as he stated, merely executed an act of justice.

A musician having been detained on a charge of stealing musical instruments, with which he was laden, pleaded his cause so well, that he was permitted to depart. "When," said he, addressing the magistrate, "I listen to the music of your troops, the sound of my own instruments appeared to be harsh and grating in my ears. I lose all pleasure in them. How could I then presume to enter any longer into competition with its strains? Besides, to me, it appears you have quite music enough; and as the voice of mirth will be heard no more in this city, of what use is my abode amidst the afflicted? I can carry on my profession only amongst joyous parties."

Had nothing been allowed to have been removed out of the town, from the moment it was occupied by our troops, all the preceding and after suffering would in a great degree have been prevented. There were some who were *foolish enough to think*, that

if the goods were retained the inhabitants would have remained with them, and those who had left the city would have returned. Can any one, having a knowledge of the Chinese love for property, doubt that such would have been the result?

A short time after the occupation, shops were opened, and poultry of the finest description were plentiful. Emissaries from the Ning-po authorities being in the town and observing this, threatened the remaining inhabitants with death, if they supplied the English. This ought to have been stopped, and every means taken to have discovered and punished these vile servants of the mandarins.

The seizure of the compradore, before spoken of, was a most severe blow, and caused, I may say, the whole of the after-sufferings to the troops. For as the inhabitants perceived that the English would not, or could not, force the Ning-po authorities to give him up, they lost all confidence, and forsook our neigbourhood, crowding into the interior of the island, or to Ning-po; and

when opportunities offered of inquiring why they did so, the answer was, "there is no security for life or property. We may be seized by the agents of our government, and lose our lives for traitorous intercourse." Thus we had only ourselves to thank for the sufferings the troops endured. A powerful demonstration or attack on Ning-po would, no doubt, have caused the release of the compradore, and made the authorities very cautious how they interfered with us at Chusan.

About this time a native employed by the British was decoyed out of the gate, and was immediately seized and carried off to Ning-po. This put the finishing stroke to our intercourse; the few remaining inhabitants fled the city; even the robbers were infected with the panic, and a Chinese was rarely to be seen in the street. It became impossible to obtain fresh provisions: no cocks or hens were to be seen in the neighbourhood of the city, and should one bird be heard to crow, he seldom crowed again.

The camp followers were all day fishing in the canals, surrounded by servants ready to

purchase the first bite; even the poor supply of vegetables had ceased.

The troops had behaved in the most exemplary way; but who can wonder if, under the temptation excited by hunger, irregularities were committed? or if an occasional peasant more venturous than his countrymen, when making for the town with poultry, was eased of it before he arrived at his journey's end? In this state things remained for some time, and when protective papers for houses and property were notified, only a few appeared to avail themselves of the offers held out to them.

It being advisable to move the 26th and 49th regiments into winter quarters, many houses in the city were appropriated to that purpose, the owners of which, in numerous cases, not appearing to claim their property, they were necessarily broken open and the contents sent to the temple of Confucius, where sales were occasionally held.

One great difficulty felt in our first intercourse with this island, was the little knowledge the natives had of silver. The tchen

being their circulating medium, thousands of strings of them were carried off by the robbers before the soldiers became aware of their value. The inhabitants would at first not take silver, except the Carolus pillared dollar; and it was very long before they could be induced to receive the Mexican on any terms. I have, when paying for bullocks, seen them examine the dollars most minutely, only selecting those on which that king's effigy was represented with a small piece of armour on the shoulder.

When they became more familiar with our silver coin, I saw a man refuse to take a sovereign, preferring an English shilling: in fact, nothing like a gold coinage has existed in China for ages. So addicted are the Chinese to debasing the currency that even the tchen, which is of less value than a tenth of a penny, is counterfeited. They will take a dollar, cut off the stamp about the thickness of tinsel, and scrape out the inside until a mere shell of the same thickness is left; they then fill it up with copper, and neatly braze the stamp on. The most critical

examination of an unpractised eye will not easily discover the cheat. All the English houses employ shroffs, native Chinese, who readily detect a bad dollar; and as they are answerable for any that may be such after undergoing their examination, the English merchants are seldom sufferers by base coin.

The temples or joss-houses of Ting-hai are amongst the finest in China. On entering the large and deep gateway of the great temple a colossal figure is seen seated on each side; the right-hand one being the warrior Chin-ky, while the one on the left is Chin-loong, but a high railing prevents the curious from touching them. After examining these seated giants, you pass to a large open quadrangle, one side of which is appropriated to the dormitories of the priests, and the other consists of a long narrow apartment with altars before three of their gods, who occupy arm-chairs, having elegant lanterns suspended before them.

The first is an aged figure, with a long black beard, apparently sleeping; the coun-

tenance expressing the most perfect repose*. The second is a female, the goddess Teën-how, the queen of heaven. The third is a male figure with eight arms, newly gilt, and apparently lately established in his domicile: he is no doubt of Indian origin. The fourth side of the quadrangle is occupied by the temple.

No sooner do you step clear of the screen which is before the door, than you are struck by the magnificence of the carving, and the colossal Budha, seated on the lotus flower†. This figure, in its sitting position, is at least

* This figure came into the possession of an officer of the squadron, and when the ships were at Canton, the compradore attending the ship it was on board, expressed a great wish to become possessed of it. On his desire being gratified, he presented to the officer three sets of josses, with incense burners, &c. He assigned his reason for being anxious to become the possessor of the sleepy joss already described, in these words: "My catchee he—my get plenty pigeon." We afterwards learnt, in confirmation of the compradore's intelligence, that this figure was the Chinese Morpheus, and also brought good fortune to his owner.

† From the lotus the bodies of the saints are to be re-produced. With the Budhist it is the type of a creative power.

fifteen feet in height. On its right and left are seated two other figures, the whole representing the triad, or three precious Budhas. These three figures are gilt. Some idea of their gigantic proportions may be formed from the forefinger of the left hand figure measuring eight inches in length. Behind these figures are mirrors made of the famous pe-tung, or white copper*, which when polished is not easily distinguished from silver. Many of these mirrors are from three to four feet in diameter.

Passing round a large square building behind the Budhas, you find a row of thirty of his disciples as large as life, of different ages and sexes, all in a standing posture, but in different attitudes. These figures are also richly gilt; the play of the human passions is exquisitely depicted in their countenances; and though they are too corpulent and fat for our ideas of proportion, they are true to the Chinese standard of beauty. On the whole they are good specimens of the fine arts in China; and were they

* Pe-tung is only found in the province of Yun-nan.

formed of any other material than clay, which would admit of removal, they might have made a handsome addition to our national museum.

One figure is very remarkable: it is that of a woman with a child apparently issuing from the centre of her breast; she has a glory round her head. Another is that of a man with an eye in the front of the forehead*. Before these figures, and behind the Budha, is an altar covered with small but well-executed figures of Chinese; at the back of which is a lofty grotto constructed of pieces of rock. On the projections of this are numerous groups of figures, amidst which are many that appear very much like cherubim, as represented by our village sculptors.

I am inclined to think from this, and the glory round the female's head, that the figures

* In a ramble through the city I came to a joss-house in which was a figure much like the Egyptian god Meaostis. It was the figure of a man, of a red or chocolate colour, with a hawk's head, but clothed in the usual Chinese dress, with the black boots worn by the mandarins. I could gain no information from the priest relative to it.

of the virgin and angels, formerly taken to China by the Jesuit missionaries, have led to a mixture of the Christian with the Chinese worship. I was at a future period much shocked at Macao by seeing the cross with our blessed Saviour on it, and several other representations of the Virgin Mary and of Roman catholic saints, for sale, and mixed up with josses in the Chinese shops. After this what rational hope can be entertained of converting these people from being worshippers of idols, who would naturally turn round and say, "Why these are your own gods?"

To return to the temple, we observed a most magnificent bell, richly ornamented with Chinese characters; and our attention was also attracted by one of the largest drums I ever beheld, deep in its tones, and, unlike our "sheep-skin fiddles," each head was covered with the hide of a bullock*.

Numerous out-buildings appeared to be

* These are beaten to arouse the votaries of the god; and the great bell is struck morning and evening for the same purpose.

appropriated to the priests, but only a solitary aged being remained to defend his shrine from the rude attacks of the "barbarians." This temple, I believe, escaped with comparatively little injury; but never before had there been such a destruction of Chinese gods as took place in this city. The wanton *iconoclasts* satisfied their consciences by reflecting that they were only destroying graven images.

Another temple, in which the commissariat department were quartered, possessed also some beautiful specimens of sculpture. Kwaṇ-yin, the goddess of mercy, riding on a dolphin, in a troubled sea, distributing her acts of grace, and exhibiting her power to save, would have been looked upon as a splendid piece of art, had it been discovered in Greece instead of in a small Chinese island.

The white elephant in this temple created much speculation amongst our orientalists, it having ever been considered as peculiar to the Burmese and Siamese worship; but when it is remembered how great an intercourse, by war and commerce, has for ages

existed between the Chinese and Burmese, I can see nothing extraordinary in some of the natives having introduced a Burmese idol, as well as Budha from Ceylon.

Before the principal image of this temple stands a large and very massively carved table, on which are jars filled with a fine blue earth for fixing the joss-sticks* into, when burning. Accompanying these are round vases filled with fortune-telling sticks, which are flat pieces of bamboo, painted with vermillion, and having Chinese numbers and characters on them. If a Chinaman is about to set out on a journey, to make a purchase, or perform any other transaction of life, he comes and takes out one of these sticks; when by the characters on it he is referred to a leaf of some of the small books which hang up in the temple, and by what he there reads he decides on giving up or persevering in his intended act.

* The joss-stick, from the nature of its composition, is truly a *coprolite*, if the geologists can afford me the term: it moulders away like a pastille. They are always burning in their temples, and are constantly used by the natives when "chin-chinning" Joss.

The temple of Confucius is situated in a most romantic spot, embowered in trees, but time has done its work. Many parts are fast falling to decay. By the English it was used as a receptacle for all captured property. The Chinese made several attempts, by breaking through the walls, to purloin the contents. The dry masonry of the wall is beautiful; it is a sort of mosaic work,—every stone fitting with the greatest niceness, so that you could not introduce the point of the finest knife into the interstices. In addition to these there may be seen many smaller temples; and every dwelling of any importance has a joss-house or temple of ancestors attached to it.

Ting-hai possesses a foundling hospital and one for decrepid and aged persons; and three arsenals containing cannon-balls, bows and arrows, flags, and clothing for the troops. Great regularity and neatness prevailed in each of these departments; the different description of shot being in separate compartments, while the dresses were neatly labelled and packed into presses. These were the

large loose jackets thickly padded with cotton, the inside of the breast being closely inlaid with thin scales of iron, rendering that part of the dress perfectly ball-proof. As the cold weather came on these formed excellent warm dresses for the lascars, though their appearance was rather grotesque in the clothing of the "robust and brave*". Their rockets, which were neatly arranged, were the most childish weapon that can be imagined; in size about equal to a two-ounce rocket, with a small iron barb at the end. They generally discharge them in showers of thousands at a time, which were admired for their beauty, but never dreaded by us from any injury they were likely to do. The guns were of the most miserable description, but curious from their extraordinary shape and antiquity; several were mere bars of iron hooped together. Many of the arms were sold, others destroyed, and some sent home as trophies to England. It was calculated

* The front and back of most of these dresses were ornamented with a round red spot, on which the Chinese characters, "robust and brave," were worked.

that there were equipments for 1300 men,—the amount of the Chusan local force. Some few helmets were found in the arsenal: they were of polished steel, but are only used by their horse soldiers.

Several very extensive and well-arranged public granaries well filled with paddy were discovered, and as rice became scarce, they were opened for the purpose of selling it at moderate price; but the natives appeared to be afraid to become purchasers; and the ducks and fowls were alone benefited by the contents of these store-houses, which were still well supplied when the force evacuated the island.

A very extensive pawnbroker's shop was also found filled with every imaginable article, from the dresses and ornaments of the "red gallery" to those of the "green window," with white copper mirrors and an innumerable collection of gongs. The owner of this establishment not appearing after repeated proclamations, the property which had been previously removed to the temple of Confucius, was sold, and the building

converted into an hospital. I have no doubt that one of the high officers late of Ting-hai owned this establishment. Keshen was said to own several of these establishments, from which he derived great wealth.

This being the capital of the Heën, the Luh Poo, or six boards were in existence there, each having its own peculiar office filled with old and mouldy archives which had been treasured for so long a period, that it became an arduous job to examine them. I was tempted to see if I could rummage anything curious from amongst them, but the smell was so unpleasant, as to make me speedily desist. For a length of time they rested in peace, until it was discovered that the Ning-po authorities had employed emissaries to steal them, when their fate was decided, and all these ancient documents were committed to the flames, thereby causing much labour to the police, who might as easily have burnt as much asbestus as these ancient records.

END OF VOL. I.

APPENDIX
TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX A.

Imperial Edicts and Provincial Reports relative to the Occupation of Chusan and to the Trial of Lin.

No. 1.

Woo, the lieutenant-governor, and Chuh, the commander of Che-keang, jointly report the loss of the city of Ting-hai. The foreign ships having hastily approached the important entrace to Chin-hai, we immediately planned with our might to resist and repel them, while we dispatch this express, reverently to report, looking up, and intreating the sacred glance upon it. I, the lieutenant-governor, as soon as the English wrote the commandant of Ting-hai in a strain of seditious violence, considering the water approaches to the place, and planning what should be respecting them, have, on the 8th of July, sent this report by express. At the same time, I hastily set out, and travelling night and day, reached Chin-hai at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 9th, where I had an interview with the general, Chuh, and was astounded to learn, that on the 5th of the month Chang Cheaoufa, the commandant of Ting-hai had an engagement with the rebellious English, in which their guns wounded a very large number of our officers and soldiers, and sunk the vessels.

On the 6th of July the city of Ting-hai was attacked and taken by the said English, and Yaou Kwaetseang, the acting magistrate, and Yun Fuh, the secretary, not surrendering, were killed. But the commandant, Chang Chaoufa, and the lieutenant, Tseen Pinghwan, were wounded; and the acting

lieutenant, Lo Keenkung, and Lieutenant Wang Wanneen, and the acting ensign, Kung Petaou, all returned to Chin-hai. Also the sub-magistrate of Chinkeagaou, Choo Kweifuh, having previously received orders from the magistrate, had returned to his post soliciting aid. The rest of the civil and military officers are not to be found. I, the lieutenant-governor, receiving this intelligence, could not prevent my hair from bristling with anger. I also ascertained that Ting-hai was distant only about thirty miles, and that without shifting a sail, they could proceed to the mouth of Chin-hai, and straight pass into the interior: all the important passes are so situated as to have Ting-hai for their outside guard, and the opposite hills of Cheaoupo and Kinke to shut in the mouth of the entrance.

At first Commander Chuh distributed his soldiers of the five cantonments, above eight hundred, and commanded Hoo Tihyaou, an acting subordinate officer of Chin-hai cantonment, and Chow Szeching, the commander of the troops, at the left cantonment, to return to Chin-hai; and dispatched nine hundred soldiers to remain at the passes of the capital of the district, and on the line of the coasts, to guard these places. I, the lieutenant-governor, also commanded my soldiers, four hundred in number, to hasten to Chin-hai to wait for orders. I also commanded Tang Tingtsae, the prefect of Ning-po, to prepare vessels, and sink them at the entrance of the river; also to employ wooden piles, driven in the water, well secured with chains; and above them, on the shore, to build a wooden stockade to protect the place, and obstruct the way of the foreign ships that they may not be able to enter. Whilst thus planning and preparing, unexpectedly on the 13th day, about 4 A.M., according to an announcement, many foreign ships had been distinctly seen outside at Leihshan passing to and fro, not more than three or four miles distant from Chin-hai. We have at present taken up our residence at the entrance of the river, to give

orders and urge the soldiers most strenuously to provide against casualties.

We have also heard that five rebellious English ships have arrived, which, added to the others, make in all thirty-one ships, having guns on both sides, and fore and aft; the largest have three decks, the next size two, and the smallest one. Included are two vessels having wheels at their sides, which, revolving, propel them like the wind, passing to and fro with great rapidity, and acting as leaders. They have about five or six thousand soldiers. If we fight with them, it is necessary that we should have a corresponding number; then we can engage them. I, the commander, some time ago summoned three thousand five hundred soldiers from Hoo-chow, only three hundred of whom arrived.

These, with all the soldiers that I, the lieutenant-governor, command, which will arrive in a few days, (all the soldiers together at Chin-hai being only two thousand and some odd,) are so disproportioned to the number of foreign soldiers, that at present it is better to remove our force, and not hazard an engagement. First, we ought to devise some plan to wear out their soldiers, that they may be slow in advancing and retreating; and when our forces are collected in great numbers, we can again act together to resist and attack them, that at an appointed time we may at once seize them all. We must enjoin upon those who inhabit the coasts, at every landing place, to devise means to obstruct their landing. At Wan-chow and Hwang-gan there is no need of many soldiers: the force at Chin-hai being very small, it is our duty to request the imperial will, commanding Tang, the governor of Fuhkeen and Chekeang provinces, to select the great military officers to take command of the ships of war, and hastily dispatch them to Chekeang. It matters not where the foreign vessels are; we may then, by uniting this force with that of Chekeang, unitedly attack them.

We also request the imperial will commanding Elepoo,

the governor of Leang Keang, (Keangse, Keangsoo, and Ganhwuy provinces,) to order the naval force stationed at the boundary of Chekeang to be on their guard, to prevent the foreign ships from passing northward, and send assistance to the Chekeang navy. Besides sending this to the provincial city of Chekeang, and to every civil and military officer at the several stations that they maintain the strictest guard, and also to the governors and lieutenant-governors of every province that they likewise order those under them to keep up a defensive guard, we also carefully dispatch our united report by post, and, bowing, intreat the emperor to bestow thereon his sacred glance, and instruct us. A careful report.

No. 2.

A Memorial respecting the loss of Ting-hai in Chekeang. The imperial rescript has been received. The remissness of the naval and military forces of Chekeang can be known without inquiry. When the mean and contemptible (foreign fellows) dared to conduct, in this outrageous and seditious manner, the high civil and military officers were immediately filled with trepidation, and lost all self-command.

All they are ever good for is to know how to nourish their honourable selves, and live at ease. The imperial will is to be still further communicated. Respect this.

On the same day, July 18th, an imperial decree was received through the inner council: to wit, Woo reports that several English vessels have sailed to Ting-hai, in Chekeang, where the men landed, and excited disturbances, of which he has given the particulars. Formerly, in order to prohibit (the importation of) opium, the trade of the said foreigners at Canton was wholly cut off. The imperial will had been already sent down, commanding the governors and lieutenant-governors vigilantly to guard and defend all the passes by sea; how has it followed then that there has not been the least care exercised? Our officers are all no better

than wooden statues to allow them to land and excite sedition. Let Woourhkinggih and Chuh Tingpeaou, for their former acts, be both delivered over to the proper tribunal for examination, and punishment. Respect this.

On the same day a dispatch, travelling four hundred le daily, was also received from the board of war, communicated by the general council to Woo, the lieutenant-governor of Chekeang, dated July 20th, containing the imperial commands as follows:—

When, on account of the investigations into the opium traffic, the English lost all hopes of profit by trade, we were early apprehensive lest they should stealthily enter the ports and raise disturbances, and, therefore, gave repeated instructions to all the governors, lieutenant-governors, and commanders, to keep a close and vigilant guard upon all the ports and entrances, and not to permit the said foreigners to sail into them. Now it appears, from the report of Woo, that the English sent a letter to the commandant of Ting-hai, which exhibited their ungovernable obstinacy; and it is moreover known that they have already landed and surrounded the city, for the purpose of attacking it. Having looked over this report, we cannot restrain our deep indignation. This abhorred set of fellows have no design in this than to attempt their petty schemes, oppose our prohibitions, pervert our commands, and, as of old, seek to take advantage of the sedition they excite to prosecute their contraband trade; such employment as this is all they are capable of doing. If the before-mentioned officers had been on the watch and guarded the ports, and the naval and land forces had been strictly disciplined, how could the landing of more than three or four thousand men have happened? Thus, in a sudden emergency like this, the high civil and military officers are straightway filled with terror, and lose all their self-possession. The lax condition of the troops and officers of Chekeang can be known without inquiry. The imperial

will is sent down to take Woo and Chuh, and deliver them over to the proper tribunal for examination and punishment.

The city of Ting-hai, being in the outer waters, and surrounded by them, is in a critical situation; the said lieutenant-governor must increase the forces, disperse the vessels of war, and hasten to its rescue. Should the foreign vessels sail westward, they will, doubtless, furtively wait to attack important places, such as Ning-po and others, hoping to dispossess them, and establish themselves. Let the troops and officers be instructed to proceed to every station to maintain a strict guard, and not permit the foreign vagabonds to enter stealthily.

The imperial command is sent down by express, ordering Yu-pooyun to take troops, and hasten thence to attack and drive them out.

The time of his arrival is estimated; and let the said lieutenant-governor and his colleagues also, with the whole strength of their minds, deliberate upon a course of action which may in some degree atone for their former delinquencies; but if they are again remiss, their guilt will be greatly increased. Let these commands be dispatched by express. Respect this.

No. 3.

On the 4th of October was received (at the office of the Hoppo in Canton) from the governor a communication, as follows:—On the 1st of October, (the 6th day of the 9th month,) I received a dispatch from the general council in these words: On the 17th September, (22nd day of the 8th month,) the following imperial edict was received.

Whereas the English, at the harbour of Teentsin, did first present a communication most manifestly civil and respectful, earnestly requesting an extension of favour, it seemed right to command Keshen pointedly and earnestly to instruct and order that they should not be allowed to create confusion

and disorder, but only permitted to proceed to Canton to seek entrance; so that if indeed they should exhibit sincerity, the said minister and his colleagues would certainly memorialize in their behalf, begging for favour.

Now, according to Keshen's memorial, the said foreigners have listened to, and received, his instructions and orders, and have already got under weigh and returned southward, having by memorial declared, that along the whole coast they will make no disturbance, provided they be not first fired on; but that if they are attacked, it will be hard to stay the hand from retaliation: also, that of the soldiers in Tang-hai one half shall early be withdrawn, &c.

These said foreigners have heretofore been so disorderly and troublesome, albeit in some way excited thereto, that they justly merit detestation, and ought to be sorely punished and exterminated.

Now it appears that the port of Tseuenchowfoo in Fuhkein, Chapo in Chekeang, and Paoushan and Tsungming in Keangsoo, have each, earlier or later, with their rumbling thunders, beat the foreign ships, greatly damping their ardour. And as these said foreigners have consented to come forward and beg for favour, it is not meet to inquire strictly into the past.

To-day our will has been sent down, appointing Keshen high commissioner, forthwith to proceed posthaste to Canton, in order to examine and arrange the business; and on his arrival there, he will be able to arrange it safely. But, apprehensive lest the governors and lieutenant-governors along the coast may not be aware of the present state of affairs, this dispatch is therefore hastened five hundred le per day, to inform Elepoo, Sung Keyuen, Yukeen, Shaou Keaming, To Hwanpo, Tang Tingchin, Lin Tsihseu, and their colleagues, that they all yield obedience hereto; severally maintain the most important passes, faithfully and truly keeping up a defensive guard. Should any of the said

foreigners pass along or anchor upon the high seas, it is not necessary to open a cannonade; but it is of great moment to keep a guard and defence, and not be first to make an attack: when it is requisite, then arrange in stern and close array, (our troops); also it is especially needful that there be no remissness or relaxing.

A copy of Keshen's communication to the English, and their reply thereto given on the same day, are copied and sent herewith for Elepoo's inspection, to be forwarded by express. Let this be duly understood. Respect this.

No. 4.

On the 2nd day of the 9th moon, (27th September,) the following imperial commands were received.

Lin Tsihseu! you received my imperial orders to go to Canton, to examine into, and manage, the affairs relating to opium; from the exterior to cut off all trade in opium, and to terminate its many evils and disgraces; as to the interior, your orders were to seize perverse natives, and thus cut off all supplies to foreigners, (probably the English are more particularly pointed at). Why have you delayed so long in the matters connected with these small, petty, contemptible criminals, who are still ungratefully disobedient and unsubmissive?

You have not only proved yourself unable to cut off their trade, but you have also proved yourself unable to seize perverse natives! You have but dissembled with empty words, and in deep disguises in your report (to the emperor); and so far from having been of any help in the affair, you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand interminable disorders are sprouting; in fact, you have been as if your arms were tied, without knowing what to do; it appears then you are no better than a wooden image. When I think to myself on all these things, I am filled at once

with anger and melancholy; we shall see in what instances you can answer to me.

I order that your official seals be immediately taken from you, and that you hasten with the speed of flames to Pekin, that I may examine you in my presence; delay you not. I order the Lieutenant-Governor E to take charge of the government of the two provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se. Respect this.

No. 5.

On the 6th of the 9th month, (28th September,) the imperial edict was received.

Formerly, because opium flowed like poison into China, Lin was specially appointed to hasten to the port of Canton, and to consult with Tang, to examine into and manage the affair; the (or my) original desire was to purify the inner land from its defilement, and to cut off the springs (whence opium flows); and that the affair should be managed according to the circumstances of place and time; but ever since the beginning of the management until now perverse natives have been offending against the laws inside, ye (Lin and Tang) have been unable to clear the land of them; while outwards the sources from whence it (opium) flows in abundance, are still not cut off! And—an affair of extreme importance—this year the English barbarian ships arrived, and have been cruizing off the coasts of the provinces of Fuhkien, Chekeang, Keang-soo, Shantung, Chihle, and Shingking, (or Leaou-tung in Tartary,) occasioning a multiplicity of affairs and defensive preparations, injurious to the revenue and toilsome to the army: all this proceeds from Lin and Tang's management, and the unskilful manner in which they have pursued their measures. Let Lin and Tang each be delivered over to the criminal board, to be punished with increased severity.

Lin, when he arrives in Pekin, is to wait for the deliberation of the board.

I direct Keshen to be the acting-governor of the two Kwang provinces; and, until his arrival, I order E, for the time being, to take charge of the government. This time the English barbarians have, at many places, presented petitionary cards (*i.e.*, open papers), containing explanatory and defensive statements against injury and bending oppression; I, the emperor, clearly understand all the circumstances, and, decidedly, it was not they (the English) who began the movement.

The said governors were especially appointed to meet and consult, and to control the conduct of the higher officers, but, after all, they have not been of any real help in the matter; on the contrary, they have at length produced an affair impeding the prosperity of the country and vitiating the people; nothing can exceed this in enormity; on this account they are to be subjected to increased punishment: moreover, it is not on account of the said barbarians' complaining petitions, that they are hurried to severe punishment. Respect this.—*Chinese Repository.*

APPENDIX B.

The British bark Sunda was wrecked on the 12th of October, 1839, near the island Hainan. The survivors from the wreck were kindly treated and conveyed to Canton, where they had an interview with the Imperial High Commissioner Lin. The following is Dr. Hill's (one of the survivors) account of the interview.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th of December, 1839, we were requested by one of the linguists to proceed immediately to the consoo-house, as his highness the imperial commissioner intended honouring us with a visit that afternoon.

On reaching the head of old China-street we found a large concourse of people assembled in the neighbourhood of

the consoo-house, and numerous palaquins entering its interior, where several officers and most of the Hong merchants had already assembled. Several American gentlemen were likewise in attendance, anxious to get a sight of the great yumchae. After waiting, however, for nearly two hours, we were informed that his highness would not honour us with his presence that afternoon, but that in all probability we should be admitted to an audience on the following Monday.

On Saturday afternoon one of the linguists called, and said that the yumchae wished to see us within the city early on the following morning, whither he requested us to be in readiness to proceed by eight o'clock.

Accordingly, after partaking of an early breakfast, we went to the consoo-house, when we were told that the Hong merchants had already gone on before us. Without loss of time, therefore, we marshalled ourselves in pairs and marched towards the city, escorted by the linguists and a motley group of attendants.

Shortly after entering the city gates we found the streets lined on both sides with soldiers, presenting rather a formidable appearance. We were conducted to a large joss-house or temple dedicated to the Queen of Heaven, distant about three hundred yards from the gates, the outer court-yard of which was completely filled with palanquins and horses belonging to the mandarins and Hong merchants, already in attendance.

After waiting for about an hour we were told that the commissioner had gone to breakfast with the governor, immediately after which he would visit us. On this the linguists took the opportunity of redoubling their exertions in order to persuade us to bend the knee to his highness, which we still persisted in refusing, to their great mortification. They said, "This not all same one other day. To-day yumchae all same emperor, all that mandarin have come, all that Hong merchants, must crook foot litty."

About ten o'clock a considerable bustle was observed at

the outer gate of the temple, occasioned by the coming of the treasurer and one of the judges, at whose approach the Hong merchants and linguists, simultaneously bent the knee. The tedium of waiting so long was somewhat relieved by the conversation of the linguists and their assistants, one of whom appeared a very intelligent young man, and had been in London for nearly eight years, along with the late Mr. Elphinstone. He spoke English remarkably well, much better, indeed, than any Chinese whom I have ever met with, and I regret much that he did not act as our interpreter with the yumchae, as Atung stammered so much, and was so flurried, that we had great difficulty in understanding him.

About the hour of eleven o'clock the firing of cannon, the beating of gongs, and shouting of a host of ragamuffin attendants, announced the approach of the yumchae, upon which the Hong merchants arranged themselves in a row upon one side, and the linguists with their assistants on the opposite, in readiness to receive him, while the mandarins proceeded to an inner apartment behind the temple. Our party at the same time inside the temple, where we conveniently obtained a peep at his highness without being observed. Four palanquins containing the commissioner, governor, lieutenant-governor, and Hoppo, now proceeded up the court-yard in the order mentioned. The commissioner first made his exit, upon which the Hong merchants, linguists, &c., prostrated themselves for a short time, his highness at the same time bowing most condescendingly. The same ceremony was repeated towards the others in succession, differing only in the length of time during which they remained on their knees, in the latter cases being only for an instant.

In about ten minutes we were informed that his highness was ready to receive us, when we were conducted to the hall of audience, situated behind and to the left of the temple, though forming part of the same range of buildings; it consists of a large quadrangular room, having a small recess at its

upper part, in which were placed two tables covered with books, papers, &c. Several mirrors and a few paintings were arranged round the walls, and from the roof two crystal chandeliers were suspended; at the sides were two tables and a few chairs, and the floor was covered with an English carpet. The yumchae was seated at the upper part of the room, having the governor and the hoppo seated on his right, and the lieutenant-governor on his left. The treasurer sat on the right side of the room, and one of the judges on the left. In person the yumchae is rather stout and short, and apparently about forty-five years of age; his countenance has rather a pleasant expression, with a small, dark, and piercing eye, and a fine intelligent forehead. His voice is strong, clear, and sonorous; he was very plainly dressed, while the other dignitaries were invested with all their insignia of office.

On being conducted into his presence we uncovered and made a polite bow, which he returned, and immediately after commenced the conversation. He began by stating his regret at our melancholy shipwreck, and hoped that we had been treated kindly by the different mandarins on our journey to Canton. He then asked when we left England? And whether any account of the disturbances in China had reached England previous to our departure? When and where did we first hear of them? How many days' sail is Angier from China? Whether it is usual for vessels to call there on their way to China? What was the nature and value of our cargo? And whether the vessel had been to China before? He then said that he was very sorry on account of the differences which at present existed between England and China. That for the last two hundred years the Chinese and English had been on the most friendly terms, during which time everything had gone on smoothly, for the interest of both. He regretted that these happy days had fled, and would rejoice to see them back again. The English had caused these disturbances by deluging the country with opium, the importa-

tion of which they knew to be strictly prohibited by the Chinese law.

He then dwelt at considerable length on the injurious effects of the use of opium on the system, and the iniquity of our introducing it into China being doubly aggravated, from our knowledge of the severe penalty inflicted upon those found making use of it, or in any way engaged in its traffic. He then mentioned the dreadful extent to which it had increased of late years, and the determination of his sovereign to put a stop to it. That he had been sent down by the emperor for that purpose, and he was firmly resolved not to return until he had effectually done so. (Here he became very animated.) He was well aware, he said, of the handsome profits made by us upon other articles of merchandize, and why should we not be content with these, but introduce a poisonous drug? He would appeal to our own hearts, if it was not a monstrous crime to engage in the opium trade? He was certain that the gods could not approve of it, and that the conscience of any one engaged in it would never allow him to be at peace on this earth. He then instanced the melancholy fate of Mr. M——, and said that other similar cases were not uncommon.

In order to show us the iniquity of the opium trade, and its increase during the last few years, he handed us Mr. Thelwall's pamphlet, and a work upon China, from which the title page was torn, (Davis's, I think,) a few extracts from which he requested us to read. Several portions of both works were translated into Chinese, and pasted on the corresponding pages. He also had five or six East India Company's cards, showing the quantity of opium sold during the season. One of them which he handed us was marked Patna opium, 12,046 (?) chests. March, 1839, and signed Trotter.

He next adverted to the murder of his countryman, Lin-Weihe, and expressed his great dissatisfaction at the mur-

derer's not having been delivered up. He could not conceive how we were unable to find out the murderer, especially as we knew five men who were engaged in the affray; and one of whom, he said, ought in justice to be delivered up to atone for the murder. He next alluded to Captain Warner's having come up to Whampoa in the Thomas Coutts, and asked why others had not done so. His own impression was that Captain Elliot was afraid of the officers and crews being beheaded, and the property confiscated, which we would perceive was entirely groundless, as we were then completely in his power, and he had not the slightest wish to do us any injury, but, on the contrary, had the greatest compassion for us, and wished to deliver us in safety to our countrymen. He would like to see all our vessels at Whampoa, but they could not now be permitted to go up, even although they signed the bond, until he received further orders from Pekin. He had not the slightest enmity towards the English, but only towards those of them engaged in the opium trade. No distinction would be made between them and the Chinese, if caught with it in their possession. Hitherto, we had been dealt leniently with, but now no mercy would be given, as he was determined to put a stop to it at all hazards. He then alluded to Captain Elliot's conduct, with which he was by no means pleased. "At Macao," he said, "Captain Elliot very proper man, at Canton no proper."

He then asked if we had heard any reports in Canton as to the state of his health; as he had been informed that in Toong-koo it was currently reported that he was in a very bad state of health, and not likely to survive many days; upon which he laughed most immoderately, and asked what we thought of the state of his health? When we congratulated him upon his robust appearance, with which he was highly delighted. He then handed us a letter addressed to the queen of England, written in their usual high-flowing strain, at which I could scarcely command my gravity; which, he

observing, immediately asked if it was all proper? We said that it was only a few mistakes at which we smiled; whereupon he requested us to take it into an adjoining room, and correct any errors we might find in it, and whither tea and refreshments would be sent us. The letter was a pretty long one, and written in a fair legible hand, with a hair pencil. The subject of it was principally a lengthened disquisition on the opium trade, and its evil effects, and a hope that her Britannic majesty would interfere and assist in putting a stop to it. Some parts of it we could make neither head nor tail of.

During the time we were engaged in the perusal of the letter, the crew got a blow-out of roast pig, &c., with four of which we were presented on our departure. On our return to the hall of audience, we found the yumchae and the other dignitaries seated round a circular table, having divested themselves of most of their insignia of office. They were amusing themselves with one of our boys, (who was likewise a good deal taken notice of by several of the mandarins on our journey,) and asking him a number of questions, such as the following: his name, age, were his father and mother alive, was he fond of the sea? &c. They likewise made him read a page or two of English, at which they were highly pleased.

He then asked the names of the places from whence the different kinds of opium were brought, and requested me to write them down for him, which I did. On mentioning Turkey, he asked if it did not belong to America, or form part of it? and seemed a good deal astonished on being told that it was nearly a month's sail distant. During the rest of the time he remained standing, as also did the viceroy, &c.; and conversing with us with the greatest familiarity, and laughing and joking with his friends about the different parts of the English costume, which he minutely examined. He seemed highly amused with our chief officer, and desired his

secretary to show him round, first in one direction and then in another, in order to get a proper view of him, when he put on his spectacles, and "hey-yaued" at a great rate.

He lastly informed us that boats were in readiness to convey us to our countrymen at Toong-koo, to whom he hoped we would give a favourable report of him, which we promised to do; he then "Chin chinned" us, and bade us good-bye. —*Chinese Repository.*

APPENDIX C.

Proclamation, by Charles Elliot, Esq., a captain in the Royal Navy, chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, and holding full powers, under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to execute the office of Her Majesty's commissioner, procurator, and plenipotentiary in China.

The island of Hong Kong having been ceded to the British crown, under the seal of the imperial minister and high commissioner Keshen, it has become necessary to provide for the government thereof, pending her majesty's further pleasure.

By virtue of the authority, therefore, in me vested, all her majesty's rights, royalties, privileges of all kinds whatever in and over the said island of Hong Kong, whether to or over lands, harbours, property, or personal service, are hereby declared, proclaimed, and to her majesty fully reserved.

And I do hereby declare and proclaim, that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, the government of the said island shall devolve upon, and be exercised by, the person filling the office of chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China for the time being.

And I do hereby declare and proclaim, that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, the natives of the island of Hong Kong, and all natives of China thereto resorting, shall be governed according to the laws and customs of China, every description of torture excepted.

And I do further declare and proclaim that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, all offences committed in Hong Kong by her majesty's subjects, or other persons than natives of the island or of China thereto resorting, shall fall under the cognizance of the criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, presently existing in China.

And I do further declare and proclaim, that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, such rules and regulations as may be necessary from time to time for the government of Hong Kong, shall be issued under the hand and seal of the person filling the office of chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China for the time being.

And I do further declare and proclaim, that, pending her majesty's further pleasure, all British subjects and foreigners residing in, or resorting to, the island of Hong Kong, shall enjoy full security and protection, according to the principles and practice of British law, so long as they shall continue to conform to the authority of her majesty's government in and over the island of Hong Kong, hereby duly constituted and proclaimed.

Given under my hand and seal of office on board of her majesty's ship Wellesley, at anchor in Hong Kong Bay, this twenty-ninth day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-one.

God save the Queen.

Canton Register. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT.

APPENDIX D.

Bremer, commander-in-chief, and Elliot, plenipotentiary, &c., &c., by this proclamation make known to the inhabitants of the island of Hong Kong, that that island has now become part of the dominions of the Queen of England by clear public agreement between the high officers of the Celestial and British courts: and all native persons residing therein must understand that they are now subjects of the Queen of England, to whom and to whose officers they must pay duty and obedience.

The inhabitants are hereby promised protection in her majesty's gracious name, against all enemies whatever; and they are further secured in the free exercise of their religious rites, ceremonies, and social customs, and in the enjoyment of their lawful private property and interests. They will be governed, pending her majesty's further pleasure, according to the laws, customs, and usages of the Chinese (every description of torture excepted), by the elders of villages, subject to the control of a British magistrate; and any person having complaint to prefer of ill usage or injustice against any Englishman or foreigner, will quietly make report to the nearest officer, to the end that full justice may be done.

Chinese ships and merchants resorting to the port of Hong Kong for purposes of trade, are hereby exempted, in the name of the Queen of England, from charge or duty of any kind to the British government.

The pleasure of the government will be declared from time to time by further proclamation; and all heads of villages are held responsible that the commands are duly respected and observed.

Given under seal of office this 1st day of February, 1841. —*Canton Register.*

APPENDIX E.

Keshen's Memorials to the Emperor, with the Imperial replies.

Memorial from your majesty's slave, Keshen, with reference to the English foreigners, not waiting for replies, but straightway attacking the forts of Shakok and Taikok; even now, while the contest yet rests undecided, is this report sent with all speed, by an express travelling diligently more than five hundred le daily, in order to be humbly submitted to your majesty's sacred perusal.

After your slave had this morning despatched his respectful report, regarding the communication he had prepared to send in answer to the English foreigners, and regarding the actual warlike display of banners, a dispatch was received by express, at a late period of the day, from your minister, Kwan Teenpei, the commander-in-chief of the naval forces. I reported, that all the vessels of the English foreigners had weighed anchor during the morning of the 7th, and in distinct squadrons had proceeded to attack the forts of Shakok and Taikok, outside the Bocca Tigris; that the fire of the guns was kept up incessantly, and the contest sustained all around from 8 A.M. till 2 P.M., during which the foreign vessels had fired above ten (rounds of) cannon; that our forces, with all their strength and energy, responded to the attack till about 2 P.M., when from a distance some of the foreigners were seen to have fallen into the water; that, as it happened, the tide began to ebb, and the foreign vessels ceased firing, and are now anchored in the middle of the stream, between Shakok and Taikok, each side maintaining its ground: that, probably, with the making of the flood the next morning, the contest would recommence; and, further, that there were four steam-vessels, which fell upon the war junks, but finding the attack responded to by our vessels, drew off again without having decided the combat on either side.

Your slave, since his arrival at Canton, has in repeated instances exchanged communications with the English foreigners, and has at all times given them admonitory commands with mildness; and as regards the several things solicited by them, though he has not been able completely to satisfy their rapacious cravings, still he has with a liberal hand granted a measure of what they desired. Yet these foreigners, on the present occasion, having upon the 6th sent in a foreign letter hastily, on the morning of the 7th, without waiting for a reply, proceeded straightway to attack the forts —to such a degree has their presumptuous overbearing and unruly violence been carried! Some, giving their advice on this matter, express it as their opinion that if the whole defensive and preventive guard be firmly maintained, that will suffice in time to weary them out. Or, it is said, if they only be granted commercial intercourse, a restraining cordon may then be kept around what they have.

Whether or not these schemes are worthy of confidence, your sacred majesty's wisdom and thorough knowledge will determine, and to escape it would be impossible.

These foreigners, now, having dared to commence this attack, and having begun troubling and disturbing, the present quarrel is then of their own creation; in their behalf nothing can be said; and as they would not wait for the communication prepared for them, there would be no propriety in now sending it to them.

The fort of Shakok stood solitary, cut off from the sea, and it is to be observed, that before this collision, from apprehension that it was insufficiently protected, two hundred men of the lieutenant-governor's brigade had been sent to occupy the important entrance into Tungkwan district, and two hundred of the personal brigade of the commander-in-chief, had been sent to defend such places as should need increased protection.

The fortified point of Taikok nearly adjoins the range of

land called Nansha (the southern sands), and it is to be apprehended lest the said foreigners, making a circuit behind the hills, should make their way inwards. Having sent an express to your majesty's minister, Kwan, the commander-in-chief, to inquire of him what points will require the addition of forces, he has himself personally examined those positions near to that place, where it will be suitable to post military guards, and having reported the same, he has received instructions accordingly to post forces thereat. At the same time directions have been given to prepare, with all celerity, large quantities of gunpowder, iron ball, and so forth, sufficient, it is hoped, for many months' use, in order thus to facilitate the defence of the various places.

The Bocca Tigris is the post of which the commander-in-chief retains the defence. To co-operate with and aid him in its defence, your slave has sent Le, general of the Chaouchow division, who will be able to give him efficient counsel and assistance.

A detachment of naval forces has also been posted on shore at Woochung Kow, distant about sixty le from the city of Canton; the river has been filled up by sinking stones; and rafts of spars have been so placed as to prevent any passage beyond. These arrangements were all on the 27th of December successively reported complete, under the superintendence of the *chunghee*, Keshow, and the *foosze*, Cho Szeleang.

At Canton itself, adjoining the walls of the city, are the houses of the people, rendering it a matter of difficulty to fire from thence. But, at the same time, the river flows all round, leaving no place for the encampment of troops. There are found, however, on the wall itself, forts of old standing, for the better defence of which the garrisons have been increased, and to such as have flats adjoining them, encamped forces have also been attached, to aid in the defence of each place.

With regard to the provinces of Fuhkeen and Chekeang, your slave, as early as the first decade of last month (the close of November), having carefully inquired into the actual and daily more pressing condition of things with all the said foreigners, felt reason to apprehend that they might go to other ports and inlets; and, therefore, communications were immediately sent to your majesty's minister, Woo Wanyung, governor of Fuhkeen and Chekeang, and to the high commissioner in Chekeang, Elepoo, to afford them every information; and they were moved to transmit the same information to the adjoining government of Keangsoo, that there also all requisite observation and defence might be maintained.

The distance being, however, considerable, and the regulation of the governmental posts being rather lax, it is uncertain whether the dispatches then sent will have yet arrived, and whether the information has been communicated to the various provinces along the coast.

Whether or not our forces have suffered in this conflict, and to what extent wounds may have been inflicted, shall be reported with all haste as soon as ascertained. And of the state of things henceforward, full reports shall be transmitted from time to time. The memorial is now first sent by an express, travelling with diligence to exceed the rate of five hundred le daily, in order to convey intelligence of the circumstances attending the attack made by these foreigners, without waiting for replies, and of the collision which in consequence took place.

The memorial is respectfully submitted, imploring the august sovereign to cast on it his sacred glance. January 8th, 1841.

Imperial Edict, issued on the 5th day of the first month, (January 27, 1841).

A report has been received from Keshen, setting forth the circumstances of an attack on, and capture of, certain forts by the English foreigners.

These rebellious foreigners, from the time of their return to Canton, have been daily increasing in disorderliness and insubordination. And we have therefore issued repeated and strict commands to all the provinces, that the most attentive and well ordered guard of prevention should be maintained; and that fit occasion should be taken to proceed against them for destruction: With what care, then, did it become all the high officers, civil and military, of the provinces to have arranged their defences! But to-day the report is received from Keshen, that where he is, the port of Shakok, has been attacked and taken by the rebellious foreigners, and that of Taikok has also been destroyed; and withal that the soldiery of the government have fallen, dead and wounded, and the naval vessels have been carried off and plundered.

It is plain from this, that the said acting governor and his fellow officers have in no way taken the needful preparative arrangements for prevention and defence.

Let the proper board take into its severest consideration the conduct of Keshen. At the same time let him have direction of the forces sent from all parts, and exert his utmost efforts to drive off or destroy these foreigners, speedily reporting an entire victory. Kwan Teenpei, though filling the post of commander-in-chief, and having under his control the whole naval force, has shown himself at all times devoid of talent to direct, and, on the approach of a crisis, perturbed, alarmed, and resourceless.

Let his button and insignia of rank be at once taken from him,—but let him, at the same time, bearing his offences, labour to attain merit, and show forth his after-endeavours.

The said acting governor and his colleagues will make clear inquiry and full report as to all the officers, subalterns, and soldiers, wounded or slain. Respect this.

On the same 27th day of January, this further imperial edict was issued:—

An express from Keshen reports that the rebellious foreigners have attacked and destroyed certain forts. In consequence of the daily increasing disorderliness and insubordination of these rebellious foreigners, our commands were therefore repeatedly issued, declaring it as our pleasure, that secure preparative arrangements should be made, and fit occasion taken to proceed to their destruction, considering that they have coveted Canton, and that not merely for a day.

The said high commissioner, sustaining a most weighty trust, and knowing, as he did, that the temper of these foreigners is proud and overbearing, seeing also that the military condition of the province where he is has fallen into decay for this long time past, should have begun with defensive precautions, with the view of being prepared to avert any disaster. Yet is this report now received from him, that the rebellious foreigners have seized upon the fort of Shakok and further attacked that of Taikok. From the fact that when these foreigners, on the 7th of January, let loose their passions, and began firing upon these two forts, they were at once able to destroy them, it is to be seen, that no preparations whatever could have been made in that province: such neglect calls forth bitter indignation. Our commands have therefore been plainly declared, that Keshen and Kwan Teenpei be, the last deprived of his button and other insignia of rank, and the former subjected to the severest consideration of his conduct.

The rebellious dispositions of these foreigners being now plainly manifested, there remains no other course than, without remorse, to destroy and wash them clean away, and thus to display the majesty of the empire. What room can there yet be left for showing them consideration and exhibiting to them reason! Expresses have consequently been sent to Hoonan, Szechuen, and Kweichon, to direct that forces be sent from each of those provinces, with all speed, to Canton:

and to Keangse an express has also been sent, directing that the two thousand men before ordered from thence shall proceed with all haste to join these. All the forces of the province of Kwangtung itself shall be under the control and direction of the said acting governor: and the posture of affairs being at this time urgent and pressing, let him at once proceed to occupy each several post and passage of importance; let him not suffer the least remissness or negligence to appear. The forces ordered from various parts may all successively reach Canton within the second month (beginning 21st February), and let him then proceed immediately to take command of all the officers and subalterns, and lead them on to the extermination of these foreigners, thus hoping to atone for and save himself.

Regarding the forts of Kwang-tung, it was before represented by Tang and his then colleagues, that they were protected by rafts and chains thrown across so as to stop the progress of the foreign vessels. Let Keshen, then, ascertain and duly report, whether or not these places now taken, Shakok and Taikok, are the same places (as those where the rafts were thrown across). That these commands may be made known, let them be sent by an express travelling six hundred le daily. Respect this.

Upon the same day this further imperial edict was received:—

Our ruling dynasty has kept in good order and discipline the exterior foreigners, wholly by the perfect exercise of good favour and of justice. So long as those foreigners have been truly compliant and dutiful, they have unfailingly been treated with generous liberality, in the hope that all might rejoice together in the blessing of peace.

Some time back, owing to the daily increasing prevalence of the poisonous opium, introduced by western foreigners, commands were issued to make vigorous endeavours to arrest

the growing contumacy. But the English alone, staying themselves upon their pride of power and fierce strength, would not give the required bonds; and for this it was commanded, that they should be cut off from commercial intercourse. But, in place of repenting themselves, they daily increased in boastful arrogance: and suddenly, in the sixth month of the last year, they went so far as to invade with several tens of vessels, the district of Ting-hai, seizing and occupying its chief town. And they further came and went, as they would, along the coast of the several provinces of Fuhkien, Chekeang, Keangsoo, Shantung, Chihle, and Monkden, causing disturbance and trouble in many ways. The violence, presumption, and disobedience of the rebellious foreigners having reached such a degree, it would have been no hard thing to array our forces and to exterminate and cut them off utterly. But, considering that these foreigners had presented letters, complaining of what they called grievances and oppressions, it was deemed unsuitable to refuse to make investigations for them, and thus to fail of displaying the perfect justice of our rule. Hence special commands were given to our minister, Keshen, to proceed with speed to Canton, and to examine and act according to the facts. Had these foreigners possessed a spark of heaven-bestowed goodness, they would assuredly all have returned to Canton to await the arrangement of matters. But a half only weighed their anchors and proceeded southward, while a half still remained at Ting-hai, thus exhibiting the craft and slipperiness of their dispositions, too clearly to need pointing out. And we have recently received intelligence, that at Ting-hai, during these months past, they have debauched and ravished women, plundered and carried off property, erected fortifications and opened out canals, even setting up a mock officer, to issue proclamations demanding of the people payment of the revenue. What evil have our people done, to be subjugated to this bane and hurt? To

speak, or to think, therefore, removes even from sleep and from food their enjoyment. After the arrival of Keshen at Canton, when he proceeded plainly to admonish and point out the right course, they still continued insatiable in their covetous desires. Having first thought to extort the cost of the opium, they further requested that places of trade should be given them.

We had anticipated finding them changeable and inconstant, and had estimated them as persons not to be influenced by truth and justice: we had therefore made provision last year, for the selection of veteran troops of the provinces of Szechuen, Hoonan, and Keangse, to be ordered for service in Kwang-tung; and we had also ordered forces from Hoonan, Hoopih, and Nganhway, to proceed to Chekeang, as a precaution against attack: and now the report received by express from Keshen is, that on the 15th day of the 12th month of the last year, (7th January, 1841,) these foreigners, in combination with Chinese traitors, proceeded on board many vessels, directly for the offing of the Bocca Tigris: and that having opened the thunder of their fire, they inflicted wounds upon our officers and soldiers, and also destroyed the fort of Taikok, and possessed themselves of that of Shakok. Thus rebellious have they been against heaven, opposers of reason, one in spirit with the brute beasts, beings that the overshadowing vault and all-containing earth can hardly suffer to live, obnoxious to the wrathful indignation alike of angels and of men. There can only remain one course, to destroy and wipe them clean away, to exterminate and root them out, without remorse. Then shall we manifestly discharge our heaven-conferred trusts, and show our regard for the lives of our people.

The various forces that have been ordered for service must now speedily reach their posts. Let Elepoo instantly advance with the forces under him, and recover Ting-hai, that he may revive its people from their troubles; and let Keshen,

on his part, stir up the soldiery, and with energy and courage proceed right on, making it his determined aim to compel these rebellious foreigners to give up their ringleaders, that they may be sent encaged to Pekin, to receive the utmost retribution of the laws. The base and vile fellows among these foreigners, and the Chinese traitors who abet their rebellious practices, are yet more to be sought after. Measures must be devised for seizing them, nor must proceedings cease till they be utterly slain.

Regarding the coasts of all the maritime provinces, it has repeatedly been declared to be our pleasure, that strict and well-arranged measures of precaution be everywhere taken. Let all the authorities,—generals, governors, lieutenant-governors,—with increased diligence maintain a constant place of observation, and, as soon as they come, attack them; and let them also proclaim it to all, whether officers or people, that it becomes them to regard these foreigners with a hostile spirit, to cherish towards them the asperity of personal enemies. Speedily report perfect victory, and all shall enjoy rewards from their sovereign. That it will be so, we indeed cherish strong hopes.

Be these commands made known universally. Respect this.

Keshen's Defence of his conduct, with the Imperial reply.

The slave Keshen, a high minister of state, and acting governor of the two Kwang provinces, kneeling, presents before the throne of the great emperor a statement, relating how that the English foreigners have sent a messenger to Chekeang (to restore Ting-hai), how that they have already restored us the forts of Shakok and Taikok, and the cruising vessels and salt junks which they had previously captured, all of which have been duly received, and how that the ships of war of the said foreigners have already retired to the outer ocean; the said slave respectfully takes all these cir-

cumstances, and along with his most attentive observations on the military position of the country, the material of war, and the disposition of the people, offers them up, begging that a sacred glance may be bestowed upon the same.

Whereas your slave, with a view to the defence of the country and protection of the people, previously to the receipt of your majesty's commands, foolishly and confusedly begged for a display of imperial clemency in favour of the English foreigners;—at the same time (seeing that such was opposed to your majesty's wishes), your slave repeatedly begged that his crime might be visited with the heaviest punishment, as is duly recorded.

On the 28th day of the 12th moon of last year (20th January, 1841), I received a dispatch from the privy council, to the following effect:—"We have received the following imperial edict. Whereas Keshen has reported to us the measures he has taken in reference to the circumstances of the English foreigners, that as those rebellious foreigners are without reason, and refuse to listen to our commands, a dreadful example of severity ought immediately to be made in their regard.

"Already has a flying dispatch been sent to the different provinces of Hoonan, Szechuen, and Kweichow, that four thousand soldiers be immediately got ready, and sent with all haste to Canton, there to await orders; cause, therefore, that Keshen, in concert with Lin Tsihseu and Tang Ting-ching, take the necessary steps for settling this business. If the rebellious foreigners dare to approach our inner shores, let them be immediately exterminated."

And successively, on the 4th day of the present moon (26th January, 1841), I received the following imperial edict from the court direct.

"Whereas Keshen has addressed to me a document in reference to the present circumstances of the English foreigners, which, on glancing over, we completely under-

stood, cause that our previous edict be put in effect, with implicit submission; let our military force be plentifully assembled together, and a complete display of heavenly majesty made (in the utter extirpation of the rebels). As far as regards the expense necessary for these military operations, no matter whether it be the duties arising from foreign commerce, or the land tax, you are hereby permitted to consult as to ways and means, and make true account of the expenditure of such revenues. Should there not be sufficient, you can report the same to me, and wait our further orders, &c., &c. Respect this."

Your slave, while kneeling and hearing these commands read, reflected that though he had conditionally granted the several items (of the foreigners' demands), yet he but barely promised to make a representation of them to your majesty in their behalf. Thus in reference to one article; viz., the opening of the trade, although it appears that they (the foreigners) had requested that this might take place during the first decade of the present moon (23rd of January till the 1st of February), yet up to now I have not dared to permit it; and they have already sent me in a foreign letter, in which they restore us the forts of Shakok and Taikok, and every one of the cruizing vessels and salt junks which they had previously captured; and still further, they at one and the same time dispatched a foreign officer by sea to Chekeang, to order the withdrawal of the foreign troops, and wrote a foreign document, which they handed up to me, and which your slave transmitted to Elepoo, by an express of six hundred le a-day, in order that he might receive back Tinghai, which conduct on their part looked more mild and submissive than had previously been the case.

But your slave is a man of confused and dull understanding. What he has done has, unhappily, not met the view of his sacred majesty;—fearing and trembling as I am, how shall I find words to give expression to my feelings!

Humbly remembering that your slave's person has received marks of imperial goodness, his conscience is not hardened! How should I dare, while engaged on this important duty of curbing these outside foreigners, and struggling amid danger and difficulty, to strive after forbidden repose! From the moment that I came down to Canton have I been the victim of the craft and wiles of these presuming foreigners. In every instance are they quite ungovernable, until that my head aches, and my heart is rent, and my morning meal comes to me without relish! Thus, for example, on one occasion we gave the foreigners battle, but our men showed little firmness;—we then requested that a manifestation of divine majesty might be made in their annihilation. But alas! the circumstances of the case and the wishes of my heart are sadly opposed! All these facts have I offered up to your majesty in repeated statements, praying that your majesty would bestow thereon a holy glance.

Now it appears, that after these said foreigners had sent a person to Chekeang to deliver up Ting-hai, and restored all that they had captured in Kwang-tung, and withdrawn their ships of war to the outer ocean, Elliot requested a personal interview with me; and as your slave had not then in person inspected the Bocca Tigris, and as the troops ordered from the several provinces had not yet arrived, it did not seem prudent to show any symptoms (of dislike to his proposal), which would have given rise to suspicion on his part, and thus prematurely brought on a collision; so your slave took advantage of the opportunity to visit and inspect the Bocca Tigris; and on the 3rd day (25th January, 1841) left the city, and embarking on shipboard, approached Szeyang (lion's ocean), on the Canton River, whither Elliot soon came in a wheeled fire-ship, and begged for an interview. He scarcely brought several tens of persons in his train; and on that day his language and demeanour were exceedingly respectful. But he handed up to me a rough draught of

several regulations which he had planned, the most of which regarded the troublesome minutiæ of commerce; and at the same time he agreed that afterwards, in relation to the bringing of opium, the leaking out of sycee, or smuggling, he was quite willing that ship and cargo should be confiscated. But among (the articles he proposed) there were some items quite impossible to be granted. Your slave at the time pointed them out, and rebuked him, when the foreigner immediately begged that they might be discussed and amended. I consented that he might alter them; but (told him) he must wait till they had been maturely canvassed and handed up to your majesty for examination (and approval).

Your slave, after having parted with Elliot, found that the Sze-tse-yang (second bar) is distant from the Bocca Tigris about sixty le; but even there the sea is vast, the billows boiling, and the wind fierce. Suddenly we came on the outer ocean in all its majesty!—no inland river can in any measure be compared to it! Your slave immediately changed his boat for a vessel capable of navigating the high seas; and having arrived at the Bocca Tigris, made a most careful inspection of all the forts round about. If they may not be said to be utterly isolated on the four sides, and rising up alone in the midst of the ocean, yet are they situated beyond the extremity of our hills, and quite approachable from the sea; supposing them to be surrounded and blockaded, even so much as provisions for the troops it would be found difficult to introduce. Your slave then proceeded to measure the depth of the water, beginning at the Bocca Tigris, and sounding till he came to Canton; and found it at high-water to be from one chang (two fathoms) and upwards, to three and four changs, varying continually. Now we all know that the principal cause of these forts being erected, was as a barrier to merchant ships which draw more water, and which, in time of peace, when they submit to constraint, dare not to pass the bounds, or to go round about; but if they were to

bring troops, with intention to rebel, they may sneak in clandestinely through every hole and corner, there is no necessity for their passing before the forts, and thus may they proceed straight up to the provincial city itself. Moreover, after having passed the Bocca Tigris, though we may add obstruction to obstruction, yet such is the nature of the country, that there is no important point by which we may hold it.

In reference to the guns mounted on these said forts, their whole number hardly exceeds two hundred, barely adequate to defend their fronts, while their sides are left quite unprotected. Moreover, among their number, those which may be used at a moment's notice are not many; for in point of endurance, as well as make, they are alike defective. The bodies of the guns are immensely large, but the bore is very small, and the sea in those parts is extremely wide, so that they scarce carry to the middle: thus, as regards their number, they are fewer than those mounted on the foreign ships; and, if we speak of their power, they are not equal to those which the foreign ships carry. Moreover, the embrasures on the forts are as wide as doors, almost large enough to allow people to creep out and in by. If we had to sustain a broadside they would offer no protection to our people; and may be said, in a word, to be wholly without strength. Just now we are making inquiries after a cannon-founder, to see if he can cast guns upon an improved model, when we shall have such cast; but if we can in very deed get them cast according to this plan, that will only do as a preventive against the future, and not at all be in time for the present emergency; thus there is nothing good in our military weapons, that we may place reliance on them.

Again, in reference to the strength of our soldiers, I find that the keeping off of foreigners must be done by sea-fights; and to fight well at sea we must have good marine troops. I have now to feel grateful to your majesty for specially sending land troops from the different provinces. This shows the

great and sacred anxiety your majesty feels in the matter. But then these troops must go on board our sea-going ships before that they can give battle to the foreigners; and if they were not firm, or if they were not accustomed to the winds and waves, it might entail on us the calamities of a defeat. Now they are not accustomed to go on board ships, and handle them, so that we cannot but use marine soldiers. The marine troops of Canton province are drawn by invitation from the sea-side, and their quality is irregular and uncertain. I had previously heard a rumour, that on the 15th day of the 12th moon (7th January, 1841), after the battle the whole of these soldiers went to the Te-tuh, or general, and under false pretences extorted money from him, otherwise they threatened to disband. And lately I went to the said Te-tuh, and asked him face to face concerning it, when he said that it was quite true; and that he (the Te-tuh) having no remedy was obliged to pawn his clothes and things, by which means he was enabled to give a bonus of a couple of dollars to each of his Canton soldiers, and thus got them to remain at their posts until now. If, then, the disposition of these soldiers as it is, is greatly to be lamented, supposing at the most critical moment, when we had actually joined battle, these marine forces were to be found weak, and without energy, it might lead to the most fatal consequences! And although we might have veteran troops among them, yet there would be no means of inspiring them with a portion of their skill and steadiness. Moreover, our war ships are neither large nor strong; they are not capable of sustaining large guns, so that they are unable to repulse the foreigners. And these are the remarks I have to offer on the weakness of the soldiery.

I have also found, by careful examination, that the characteristics of the people of the Canton province are falsehood, ingratitude, and greediness; putting out of the question those who are already actual traitors, and whom there is no

occasion to speak about. The rest have all been born, and dwell, in the same place, mixed up with the foreigners; they are constantly accustomed to see them, and for many years have been as intimate with them as very brothers; they are not at all like the people of Ting-hai, who having never been accustomed to hold intercourse with foreigners, immediately discovered them to be a distinct species. But if we suppose that what they did *there* they had done *here*, if these said foreigners had deceitfully distributed their paltry presents, and set the machinery of their tricks to work, I really fear that the whole people (of the province) would have been reduced by them; they would certainly not have shown the unbending firmness of the Ting-hai people. Such are the observations I have got to offer on the flexible dispositions of the Canton people, which circumstance gives us still more cause for anxiety!

On looking over the records of the past, I find, in reference to the putting down of the ladrones, that these were but so many thieves and robbers; the ships they were embarked in were native ships, and the guns they made use of were native cast guns; and yet this affair was spun out for many years, and only put an end to by inviting them to surrender, under promise of pardon; and under the present circumstances it is to be feared that the wasp's sting is much more deadly!

Your slave has again and again resolved the matter in his anxious mind! In so far as it regards his *own person* it is unworthy of notice; but the consequences touching the vital interests of the country and the lives of the people involved in it, are vast and extending to posterity! But, alas! your slave has sinned in giving battle, when he could not command destiny to give him victory; and he has no less sinned in being unable to settle matters in unison with your sacred majesty's wishes; both of these are crimes which effect his poor life: but what is there in this worthy of pity or consideration! Still your slave, though he has sinned in

not being able to settle matters in unison with your sacred majesty's wishes, yet the territory and people of Canton still exist, and look up to your most sacred majesty for his gracious support and protection; while your slave, in having sinned in giving battle when Fate denied him the victory, has soiled the glory of his master, and poured out the lives of his people, and still more left himself without a sensible plan to put in operation. Therefore it is that after having duly consulted with the Tartar general of the garrison and his adjutants, the lieutenant-governor, the literary chancellor, the judge and treasurer, the intendants of circuit, the chief magistrates of larger and lesser districts, and the ex-governors, Lin Tsihsu and Tang Tingching, &c., we have unanimously come to the conclusion, that our defences are not to be relied upon, and that in the tug of battle our troops will not stand their ground. Moveover, in regard to the troops which have been ordered by your majesty from the different provinces, time is still necessary for that object; nor can they all arrive at once, and the assembling of a large body of troops is not a thing that can be done quietly; the native traitors are sure to give timely notice of it, and the foreigners would, in the first instance, give loose to their madness and extravagance.

Your slave is vexed to death thinking of these things, even till he loathes his food, and till sleep has forsaken his eyelids; forasmuch, he does not shrink from the heavy guilt he is incurring in taking all these facts, the result of his diligent inquiries, and annoying with them the ears of heaven's son; and at the same time he takes everything connected with the foreigners, and all the foreigners' letters, and hands them up for imperial inspection. He humbly hopes that the Holy One will look down with pity and compassion on the black-haired race, and shower upon them an extra measure of clemency, in granting what is therein requested, so that the people of the land may not be turned

to ashes. In times of difficulty is seen good government; victory is but a transient thing: in restraining the ruin that is before our eyes, we ought carefully to eradicate the cause of it for after ages!

In reference to all the circumstances contained in this, whether the result of my conference with the high provincial officers, or of my own diligent investigation, I only hope that your sacred majesty will condescend to inquire regarding them; and I beg that your majesty will specially appoint a high officer to come here to ascertain their truth. Your slave has been actuated by a desire to save the country and the people from first to last, and not swayed by the smallest atom of fear; and still more he dare not make use of the least glossing or deception.

Inasmuch, therefore, this respectful memorial is forwarded at the rate of six hundred le a day, humbly hoping that the emperor's holy glance may be bestowed thereon. A respectful memorial.

The Emperor's reply to the foregoing.

On the 25th day of the 1st moon of the 21st year of Taoukwang, (16th February, 1841,) the following remarks, written with the vermilion pencil, were received in reply.

We can on no account calmly put up with the insults and befooling of these rebellious foreigners, as you have done. Blinded and unwilling to see as you are, dare you still have the hardihood to turn your back on our commands! to continue receiving the foreigners' documents, and even to beg favours in their behalf! Such proceedings pass the bounds of reason. Impotent and worthless that you are, what sort of heart is contained within your breast? Not only do you contentedly take in their threats and insults, but you even dare to hold up certain passages with intent to frighten us! But know that we have no coward fears! Besides this we shall again announce our pleasure. Respect this!

Imperial Edict, ordering Keshen to be put to death on the day he arrives in Pekin.

On the 4th day of the 3rd moon, (March 26,) an imperial edict was received.

It is authenticated that before Keshen reported that the Sankeang* Chin†, Chin Leenshing, having lost his forces through losing opportunities, cut his throat and died.

But now it is authenticated that General Ho and the seunfoo, E, have reported that the Sankeang-chin, Chin Leenshing, was faithful, valiant, and a good tactician. That he had requested Governor Keshen to block up the mouth of the river, and also requested the issue of five thousand catties of gunpowder; but Keshen would not allow the river to be blocked up, and only issued one thousand catties of powder; with which, moreover, was mixed up a good deal of sand and mud, which rendered the guns useless; and both father and son perished fighting in the ranks,—a fate highly to be commiserated.

Further, E has reported that on the 6th day the Tyger's gates were laid in ruins, which intelligence has riven my very heart and liver. I did not deem that Keshen, from his common-place talent, could sell his country, and still have talent sufficient to gloss over his treason,—a crime for which death is not even a sufficient punishment. I order that the *Yulinkeun* (the emperor's own troops, some of his guards, we presume), with the utmost rigour, to seal and lock up the temple of his ancestors and those of his relations.

I further order Hokih (a Tartar) to proceed to Canton and bring Keshen to Pekin; and the rebellious minister and his whole family are to be put to death on the very day of his arrival.

But since the Tyger's gates have been laid in ruins, the

* Province of the three rivers. † A military title.

provincial city must be in danger. You, E-leang, should, in conjunction with the imperial envoy, Yangfang, exert yourself to keep the city ditch.

Heretofore the rebellious foreigners dreaded the former governor and minister, Lin; but I, the emperor, was deceived into listening to the rebellious minister's deceptive schemes, even so far as to deprive Lin of his office. Now the ruling ministers have delivered a statement, requesting me to restore Lin to his original office: but imperial orders have already been given to the governor Kelung to succeed; and it is not required to make a further change; but I confer upon Lin the first degree of the second rank, and join him with E and his colleagues, to consult on military plans (for the defence of the province). Respect this. — *Canton Register.*

APPENDIX F.

Eight Accusations against Keshen, presented at court by E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung.

First.—He held interviews with and received documents from Elliot, on equal terms.

Second.—After his arrival at Canton he did not choose out and depute either literary or military mandarins to go to Elliot, to speak about affairs, but only employed in this office a traitorous Han (Chinese) named Paou-pang.

Third.—The admiral (Kwan) took the troops, and proceeded out to sea to guard and watch the public interests, but nothing whatever would Keshen communicate to him, and when he (the admiral) requested definitive instructions, he was forthwith met with angry railings, and it became impossible for the admiral himself to adjust these affairs of more or less importance.

Fourth.—He issued orders to each of the forts that it

would not be allowed to those who might be covetous of merit, to ruin matters by opening fire with their musketry and great guns of their own accord, and, consequently, these forts and the military stations were all lost on the same day.

Fifth.—He constrained Lekeen, the adjutant-general, to prepare an official despatch for him, acknowledging his (Keshen's) offences, forcing him to affix his (Lekeen's) seals to the same, and to present it to Elliot.

Sixth.—He changed every measure for the worse, made vague and incoherent representations to the court, and brought disaster upon the admiral (who fell at the taking of the Bocca Tigris).

Seventh.—At the offing of Szetsze (on the river above the Bocca Tigris) he fired salutes and went to receive Elliot, and also despatched messengers to deliver his commands to each of the forts, that they were to observe the same arrangement, and receive Elliot in like manner.

Eighth.—He affixed his seals to a document dismembering a portion of our territory, and delivering it over to these barbarian men for a place of residence.

I, E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwang-tung, lay these accusations before the court.—*Canton Register.*

APPENDIX G.

A Proclamation, by Charles Elliot, Esq., &c., Her Majesty's plenipotentiary in China.

People of Canton,

Your city is spared because the gracious sovereign of Great Britain has commanded the high English officers to remember that the good and peaceful people must be tenderly considered. But, if the high officers of the celestial court offer the least obstruction to the British forces in their present station, then it will become necessary to answer force

by force, and the city may suffer terrible injury. And if the merchants be prevented from buying and selling freely with the British and foreign merchants, then the whole trade of Canton must immediately be stopped. The high officers of the English nation have faithfully used their best efforts to prevent the miseries of war; and the responsibility of the actual state of things must rest upon the heads of the bad advisers of the emperor. Further evil consequences can only be prevented by wisdom and moderation on the part of the provisional government.

Dated off the fort of Estamee, near to Canton, the 6th day of March, 1841.—*Chinese Repository.*

APPENDIX H.

Edict published at Canton, and given into the hands of the foreign merchants, on Thursday, the 20th of May, 1841.

Yu, the acting-prefect of Canton, issues this edict for public information, in order to calm the feelings of the merchants, and to tranquillize commercial business. It appears that the detachments of troops for Canton have all successively arrived; the laws for the army, however, are very strict, and, without being commissioned, soldiers can never move about to create disturbances. Still it is feared that, as the military hosts are gathered in clouds, the merchants of all nations here engaged in commerce hearing thereof will tremble with alarm, not knowing where these things will end. Some, frightened out of their wits, may abandon their goods and secretly go away; and others may not know whether to expect quiet or danger, while all cherish their fearful apprehensions. Those foreign merchants who are respectfully obedient, are viewed as no ways different from the children of the celestial dynasty; and the imperial commissioner and

general pacificator of the rebels, and the high minister and joint commissioners, with their excellencies the governor and lieutenant-governor, managing all things with due consideration, assuredly will not involve the good and the upright in trouble. These merchants, being respectfully obedient, ought to be protected from all injury, and the goods which they have brought with them ought also to be preserved in safety.

It is, therefore, right to issue this edict for full information. And, accordingly, this is published for the assurance of the merchants of every country trading at Canton: to you, who have always been respectfully obedient and long enjoyed our commerce, the high officers of the celestial dynasty, in fulfilling the gracious pleasure of his imperial majesty towards foreigners, will give full protection to the utmost of their strength. Should native robbers and bandits come out to plunder or molest you, they shall be punished with increased severity; and any goods carried off shall be restored, so that the smallest loss shall not be sustained. And you, the said foreign merchants, ought also, on your part, to remain quiet in your lawful pursuits, continuing your trade as usual without alarm or suspicion; but, joining with the disturbed affairs, will give occasion for subsequent repentance. A special edict.—*Chinese Repository.*

APPENDIX I.

General Order.

Head-Quarters, Marion, Canton River, May 24, 1841.

1. The period has now arrived, so long looked for by the military portion at large of the China expedition, when it may have an opportunity, in co-operation with our gallant

associates of the royal navy, of proving what can be effected by discipline and bravery.

2. Major-general Gough feels a confident assurance that every man will do his duty, that he will have the gratifying task, not only of recording and bringing to notice acts of gallantry, but (what is of infinitely more consequence in the present instance, and will afford stronger proof of devotedness to our country's honour and our professional character,) of unshaken discipline and undeviating attention to the orders issued by the officers in the command of columns of attack.

3. The nature of the position to be carried, and the probable necessity of subdividing the force into separate columns of attack, which may be led through the town and suburbs, make it the more necessary to enforce the most rigid discipline, and to guard against any man leaving the ranks upon any pretence whatever. The man who does so will most probably be cut off; but even should he escape, his name should be branded as a disgrace to his corps.

4. The Chinese system is not one to which the British soldier is accustomed; but if the Chinese have not bravery and discipline, they have cunning and artifice. They have had ample time to prepare, and he may be well assured that their system of stratagem will be called into full play on the present occasion. But though such a system may be effectual against a mob, which every broken body is, it must fall before the steady advance of disciplined soldiers. The major-general will only add, that Britain has gained as much of fame by her mercy and forbearance, as by the gallantry of her troops. An enemy in arms is always a legitimate foe, but the unarmed, or the supplicant for mercy, of whatever country or whatever colour, a true British soldier will always spare.

5. The troops will be prepared, with cooked provisions

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stout and valiant youths, then, when we but once uplift our hands, will the pearly Canton river be tranquillized; for if we form our plans of ambush, then even the very devils themselves will not be able to fathom them: as it is our imperative duty to expel, sweep out, and purify our land of the English, and thus prevent a shred of your sails from returning to your country: and thus shall we illustrate to the whole world the great principles of righteousness, and further, the black-haired people will be again restored to their original occupations.

Ye, in your depraved, licentious nooks of places, we certainly apprehend have not yet attained to a thorough knowledge of our oath and our intentions; it is right, therefore, with speed to disseminate the same to all of your race. Ye are all ordered to obey implicitly, and not involve yourselves in a too-late repentance. A special proclamation, 4th moon, 13th day, June 2nd.—*Canton Register.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

for two days, to land this day at twelve o'clock, in two columns.

(Signed) ARMINE S. H. MOUNTAIN,
Lieutenant-colonel, D. A. G.

—*Chinese Repository.*

APPENDIX K.

Proclamation by the lads of thirty-six villages round Canton, to the English barbarians.

The inhabitants of the provincial city of Canton, and of each of the villages and hamlets, clearly proclaim to the English barbarians as follows.

This proclamation is issued because you have opposed the troops of the celestial dynasty, entered and attacked places in the inner waters; this proves your utter disregard of the laws; and it is also well known that Elliot and his colleagues are stupid people, who wish to change our manners by new-fangled and exotic doctrines; and although we are but small country people, we are still the children of the emperor, who is regardful of ourselves and of our families, and also of our native country, and possess hearts that to the last cherish our fathers and mothers. The defence of our native place, and of ourselves and families, was first committed to the care of stout and valiant soldiers; but now, being excited and united by one feeling of indignation, why should we trouble the public officers to grasp their spears? for at our war-cry numberless excited hands will gather together,—

Whose swords are a thousand, whose bosoms are one,—

who of themselves will be equal to the slaughter of your hated species.

We are true to the last of our blood and our breath,
And like reapers descend to the harvest of death.
Then welcome——
But woe to your kindred, and woe to your cause,
When *China* her weapon indignantly draws.

At this moment ye are secretly practising diabolical arts; and unnaturally profligate as the che bird, ye have usurped possession of Hong-kong, and have hoped to seize the taxes of government. It is authenticated that when ye were at Ting-hai, ye debauched men's wives and daughters: and all your proceedings have been lawless. The measure of your crimes and wickedness is full, and how can we, the people of the province, sit still and witness the seizure (of the five millions of dollars). Hitherto we have hidden ourselves, and have not raised our heads, all being on the verge of terror, and not in will and determination together united; but henceforth, we have all bound ourselves by a solemn oath: yet being impeded by the peaceful measures of the public officers, we did, for a short time, retire to our different villages, not presuming to join battle.

Hitherto we have practised the sacred precepts that have been handed down to us; and we are perfectly well versed in the great principles of righteousness, and in the vague and unpractised duty of defending ourselves and families, although we are not much more than a set of blockheads, yet is the will and determination of the multitude in the city, from beginning to end, on all points, without difference or change.

How can it be, think ye, that we have assembled and united merely because ye have arranged your battalia? Now, after the publication of this proclamation, if you still continue morally unawakened, and adhere to your stupidity, and again tread in your old footsteps, we will, forthwith, prepare our lances and tri-forked spears, and forming ourselves into an army of righteousness, with our strategists to form plans, and the whole united and exerted strength of our

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